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[Category 643 is reserved for information pertaining to only the Paramount Chief and his activities; data on village chiefs or headmen will be found under category 622, while information on chiefs and other officials at the county or unstated intermediate level has been classified in category 634.--Analyst]

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his leadership, or who may have been part of his following before the migration began.[38]

The people led by Zwangendaba called themselves Ngoni, a name derived from Nguni, a term of salutation (*inkhalezulu*) common to many agnatic clans in Natal. The tribes with whom the Ngoni fought referred to them by a wide variety of names and it is under these that they appear in the early literature. They were known as Angoni, Amapondi, Bangoni, Batuta, Bazowa, Bunga, Landeesa, Landlim, Machendi, Maliti, Malitte, Magwagwara, Makwangara,

TABLE I. LEADERS OF GROUPS IN THE 1820's

Shaka	Effective head of the Mthethwa kingdom and founder of the Zulu empire.
Zwide	Ndandwe king, defeated by Shaka.
Swabangane	A classificatory younger brother of Zwide.
Zwangendaba	Independent minor chief, sometime ally of Zwide.
Mzilikazi	Originally independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and later fled from him.
Nxaba	Independent minor chief who fled from Shaka.

Mangone, Mangwangwara, Manitu, Maviti, Mavitu, Mazite, Mazitu, Mbunga, Mchecherere, Rugaruga, Sinyama, Waangwe, Wajoja, Wamachunde, Wamachote, Wanguni, Waponta, Watuta, Zulu and Zulu Kaffirs.[39] Some of these names they shared with other tribes and bands of brigands.

4. *The residential system*

The Ngoni men and women who made up the core of Zwangendaba's following were grouped together in agnatic lineages and in age-sets. Their captives were absorbed into this social structure and in the process the structure was inevitably altered to conform to the peculiar features of Ngoni life. The heads of the various distinct lineages under Zwangendaba, or at least some of them, became known as *regional governors*[40] and their lineages became

[38] Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 138-71, 204-16; Chilembwe, *My Ngoni*, pp. 7-11.
[39] Rev. Free, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 55.
[40] *Mabandezana*, pl. *abandezana*. cf. Zulu, *amakhanda*, village headmen; also Read, 'Tradition', p. 560.

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segments in what we shall term the Ngoni residential system. The constituent segments of their lineages formed the nuclei of minor segments of the residential system. Using the adjectives 'superior' and 'inferior' to indicate merely relative position, we may say that each Ngoni agnatic lineage segment was in general contained within superior segments of greater span and at the same time contained within itself smaller but similar inferior units. This formation is characteristic of all lineage systems, as is well known. The segments of the residential system were arranged in the same way but whereas there were several distinct agnatic lineages, or parts of such lineages, under the political leadership of Zwangendaba, in the residential system all, or nearly all, of these distinct lineages were included within the largest residential segment. In other words, the largest segment of the residential system contained almost the whole of Zwangendaba's following, his regional governors, his and their captives and other followers, as well as his own agnatic kinsmen. Again, whereas the various lineage segments contained only the agnatic relatives of the head of the segment, each segment in the residential system included many captives, men, women and children, as well as an agnatic core.

The segments or units of the residential system were enduring social groups which, by analogy with the usual terminology for lineage systems, we shall call primal segments.[10] The segment of highest order was the State itself (or the greater portion thereof), consisting in 1898 of some 75,000 people, while many of the lowest order segments contained only half a dozen people. Each member of a segment belonged not only to that segment but also to all the superior segments of which it was a part.

We shall refer to the man in charge of, or the founder of, a segment as a lord (*nfumu*) and to the members of his segment as his dependants. Every man was potentially a lord, and every lord except the Paramount Chief, Zwangendaba, was a dependant of some other lord higher in the hierarchy. A lord was politically responsible for all the men and women in his segment. He was related agnatically to some of the men in his segment and towards his captives he stood in a quasi-agnatic relationship in that, although he had the same rights and duties towards them as if he had been their father, it was nevertheless possible, and indeed quite usual, for his captives to marry one another and for him to marry one of his woman captives. In the absence of true agnatic descendants a lord was sometimes succeeded by a quasi-related dependant.

[10] *Cipalwa*, pl. *zipalwa*, from *ku-palwa*, to divide. cf. *Ntanga*, *ku-palwa*, to divide, and *Rubu*, *ku-gabu*, section or portion divided off from the whole.

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and in other situations that which was founded last. The headquarters of the highest segment was in some sense capital of the nation, yet chieftainship had already passed from it and it was less important in other ways than the headquarters founded by the reigning chief. This apparent contradiction applied within every large segment. We have endeavoured to isolate these different contexts by our distinction between primal and residual segments, but as soon as we attempt to arrange villages or bevies of wives in a linear order without reference to the relationship of their associated segments to one another, the contradiction reappears.

A clear and accepted sequence of heirs would have been appropriate to a segmentary system in which segments continued to hold together in all circumstances. Ngoni segments did not do this, and the simple linear sequence of heirs was lacking. The successive formation of inferior segments implied increased structural separation between the first inferior segment to be formed and the headquarters, and hence less likelihood that the former would provide the main heir. As in lineage systems, the farther back the point of departure from the main line the greater the structural separation from it. But whereas in lineage systems it is the junior lines which are continually diverging from the main stem, in the Ngoni system the main heir was the first to break away from his father, who remained longer in close contact with his junior sons. Seniority within the newly formed undivided segment implied early differentiation within it, and hence early separation from its headquarters. Thus, the general principle of increasing separation with the passage of time, together with the particular principle of segment formation in order of seniority, combined to make a system of great flexibility despite essential regularity and uniformity. On the death of each segment head there was a shift of power within his segment and to some extent a formal recognition of the structural separation which had proceeded gradually during his lifetime. The headquarters founded by successive heads of segments persisted as the home of groups whose interests they symbolised. The history of the segments and of the nation itself was embodied in the relationships enduring between successive headquarters.

When a small segment was founded it was usually manned by people drawn from the rump of the immediately superior segment, that is, from those men and women in the superior segment who had not already been allocated to some inferior segment within it. However it is clear that this rule was often over-ridden. When the head of a large segment formed a new inferior segment for a wife or son he was able to command the services of everyone within his

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segment, even of those who had been allocated to existing inferior segments. If he thought fit he could shift them from one inferior segment to another within his own segment. This process was particularly relevant to the formation of new segments for the great wives of men who were the heirs or lords of large segments. A new lord, making his great wife's segment after the death of his father, did not confine himself to the rump of his father's segment but selected men he thought he could trust from anywhere within his father's primal segment, whether or not they had made segments of their own. Similarly a lord sometimes took a man who occupied an unimportant position in the segment of one of his wives and promoted him to be lieutenant in a newly formed bevy. The more important the lord or heir, the greater the structural distance his dependants could be moved. Thus while the processes by which the Paramount Chief and a man with only a few followers made segments for bevies of wives were formally the same, the consequences were quite different. In the former case, many hundreds of people were involved and many key men were shifted in their allegiance in order to provide the new segment with lieutenants and followers. In the latter, few people were concerned and the event was not of general interest. The formal processes remained the same at all levels in society, but what in one case was essentially a political action in which a Paramount Chief acted as head of a State was in the other largely a matter of domestic reorganization. It is characteristic of the Ngoni State that the transition from one state of affairs to the other was a gradual one.

Occasionally a man moved himself from one segment to another on his own initiative. This happened only infrequently and it seems probable that it was only when a man who had quarrelled with his own segment sought asylum with the reigning chief that a move of this kind could be made. Chibambo records an incident in which many men transferred from their former segments to one newly formed by the reigning chief, but adds that later they returned to their old segments. A similar incident from the Fort Jameson group is noted below.[9] Despite these exceptions it nevertheless remains true that for the most part a man's affiliation to his segment was fixed and could be altered only by the actions of his political superiors.

We have spoken of the formation of segments, but not yet of their disappearance. Many minor segments faded away because their members died or because they were moved elsewhere by a lord. Sometimes a segment ceased to be an effective social unit

[9] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 33: see p. 140.

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tiation of function between the senior lieutenants of the Paramount Chief, it is improbable that there were any special political offices outside the residential system.

Read mentions a political hierarchy with various titles.[38] At least in the Fort Jameson group, three of the four vernacular terms she gives were used in connexion with the residential system. The fourth, *amanxusa*, was used in Zulu for messengers sent by a chief and a dialectical variant of this (*manyusi*) is so used nowadays at Fort Jameson. They have no executive authority and do not seem to have had any in the past.

Fraser, writing of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, says that there were two groups of lieutenants, one composed of men who became Ngoni before the crossing of the Zambezi and which exercised civil power, and the other which included men of more recent incorporation into the Ngoni tribe and which supplied the war leaders. He implies that the war leaders did not take part in the civil administration.

There seems not to have been this distinction between civil and military lieutenants among the Fort Jameson group. Wiese's 'Minister of War', who was referred to as a Commander-in-Chief by other contemporary writers, was a segment head with the same responsibilities towards his people as anyone else. The regiments had leaders responsible for the tactical control of warriors, some of whom were recently incorporated men, and presumably Fraser is referring to them, but his statement that the man often chosen to lead the whole army had no voice in the council conflicts with Elmslie's account of the same place and period. The war leader, Ng'oncomo, who is mentioned by Fraser, acted as regent on the death of the Paramount Chief in northern Nyasaland.[39]

The village as such had an importance independent of the size or order of segment of which it was headquarters or by which it was inhabited. There were no special terms for distinguishing the heads of large or small segments, for all were lords or ladies. But a special term[40] was used for a village headman, irrespective of the order of segment of which he was lord, provided he was not a lieutenant who had become head of the village in the absence of agnatic descendants of the founder. The use of a special term may have been an indication of the village headman's importance, part of which derived from the control he exercised over the cattle

[38] Read, 'Tradition', p. 460. cf. her account of the southern Ngoni in 'Somebody', p. 18.

[39] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 32. cf. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 101, 189.

[40] *Inkosana*. In Zulu, a small or petty chief. cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 460.

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kept at his village. Although his lords, and ultimately the Paramount Chief, had rights in the cattle, their day-to-day care was his responsibility and he had in practice the greatest say in their disposal, either for consumption, for payment of bridewealth, or for damages awarded against a member of his segment. He was head of the most clearly demarcated local group and was responsible for it to the heads of superior segments. The village was the cattle-herding unit, but for agricultural tasks it seems probable that in large villages the co-operative unit was the division. Agricultural work was directed, at least so far as women were concerned, by the lady of the division. I have no clear information on how domestic tasks such as cooking were organized within the village but it seems probable that individual women cooked for their husbands and for the children in their care.[1]

Fraser writes of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland that a village headman had special ritual duties to perform when his village shifted to a new site, and Rattray reports a similar procedure for the southern Ngoni. Wiese mentions an oracular method of selecting a new village site among the Fort Jameson Ngoni, but is silent on whether or not the headman had a special rôle to play.[2] I could gain no information from my own informants about former practices, but nowadays the headman has no specific ritual to perform when a village shifts.

There is little evidence about the number of villages in the Ngoni State. There are a few conflicting observations on population and size and number of villages in the Fort Jameson group at the time of the conquest,[3] and we have estimates for the population of different groups in recent years, but estimates of the population and number of villages at earlier dates are all highly speculative.

The term for lieutenant, *ndunu*, was used at all levels in the residential system and was applied even to men who had not yet founded their own segments. As already mentioned, a lieutenant was a quasi-related dependant, not a kinsman, of his lord who was selected to be in charge of a section of his lord's dependants and to carry out the instructions of his lord. Some of my informants referred to a ceremony at which a new office of lieutenant was created and a feather placed in the hair of the newly appointed man, but others appeared not to have heard of this custom. The

[1] Barnes, *Marriage*, pp. 13*f*. For the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, see Read, 'Standards', p. 18.

[2] Fraser, *Primitive peoples*, pp. 103*f*; Rattray, *Folk-lore stories*, pp. 368*f*. 108*f*; Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 139. In his 'Expedition', p. 480, Wiese mentions this method only with a change of residence by the Paramount Chief.

[3] See pp. 103*f*.

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to which some men definitely belonged and others definitely did not. When matters of national importance needed decision, they were discussed at a meeting attended by at least all the lieutenants of the various levies of the Paramount Chief, and all the spokesmen mentioned in accounts of meetings with Europeans during the later period and who can now be identified belong to this category. It seems possible that the heads of other major segments also took part in these discussions, and that other men listened to them even if they did not take part.

The role played in tribal affairs by brothers and junior sons of the Paramount Chief is not clear. The Paramount Chief did not himself actively intervene in many domestic matters until they were specifically referred to him by his lieutenants, and it seems possible that within their own segments other members of the royal house behaved in the same manner. At least nowadays some aristocratic headmen, not necessarily members of the royal family, behave in this aloof way. The head of the segment, like the head of the village, represents its common interest, its unity, and cannot intervene on his own initiative in the affairs of his people. He lies beyond the reach of their quarrels and disputes, and has to be brought into or informed of them in his judicial capacity by his lieutenants. Wiese says that previously members of the royal house were the real governors and judges in their segments, but that by 1891 in three cases out of four effective power had passed to their lieutenants and that they were merely 'show chiefs'.[1] This observation appears to confirm the thesis that with increased segmentation effective control passed from the head of the primal segment to the heads of the inferior segments within it, leaving the head of the primal segment as ceremonial head; but we do not know what evidence if any Wiese had about earlier conditions. It seems probable that before Wiese's time, as well as during it, the heads of large segments ruled through, as well as with the approval of, their lieutenants. So strongly does this principle still apply to the office of Paramount Chief that when recently a brawl began at a beer party attended by the Chief, he at once ran away, lest in the mêlée he might be forced to take direct action.[2]

Thus we see that in the Ngoni residential system, although segments were enduring social groups and the pattern of relationships once laid down could not be altered in formal terms, yet in fact there was a continual movement in the disposition of political

[1] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.
[2] Clarkson reports similar conditions among the Lozi, where there is a maxim, 'The chief is not a policeman'. See his 'Lozi of North-Western Rhodesia'.

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114 is quite possible for the sub-divisions of a centralized state to have
121 a segmentary social organization'.[86]

This unfortunate muddle is not helped by the use of the adjective pyramidal to characterize the social organization of primitive states, for when we need a visual symbol for a segmentary system as found in stateless societies, we use a triangle or pyramid.[86] There is, on reflection, an obvious difference between one office-holder having authority over a number of subordinates and one segment containing lesser segments within itself; but this difference is obscured by the similarities of spatial metaphor.

Under these circumstances, it seems best to eschew the use of pyramidal or segmentary as unqualified descriptions of either group of societies, and to follow the authors' alternative suggestion by speaking of Group A societies as primitive states, and of those in Group B as stateless societies. The presence or absence of a segmentary political system may now be handled as a separate question, providing a classification cutting across the division into states and stateless societies.

642 We have spoken throughout this chapter of Ngoni society as a
[643] state, and this usage is in accord with the definition of a state given
[622] here. The Paramount Chief with his lieutenants exercised supreme authority, there was a highly organized administrative machine, and there was an organized method of settling disputes within the
[556] State. There were only slight variations in wealth except in the
[554] control of cattle, but privilege and status were expressed in the residential system and were inseparable from the exercise of power and authority.

121 The presence or absence of a segmentary political system can
631 itself be divided into two questions; was there a segmentary system, and if so, was it the political system? If we have used the term segment correctly, then it is clear that the Ngoni did have a segmentary system, and that political relations within, but not without, the State were largely regulated by it. However, when Fortes and Evans-Pritchard use this word segmentary in their typology they are referring exclusively to lineage segments, or to major groups very similar in form to lineages. A segment of the Ngoni residential system was not quite the same as a segment of a lineage, and we must therefore examine what may usefully be meant by the term segmentary as applied to a social system before we can answer these questions.

[85] Fortes, *Dynamics*, p. 234.

[86] e.g. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, p. 201, and Fortes, *Dynamics*, p. 34, diagrams.

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political would seem to be, for example, at the medial lineage among the Tallensi, beyond which generation differences are not recognized; and at the village among the Nuer. It seems probable that in the old Ngoni system the village was also the significant unit, above which relationships were dominantly political and below which they were largely determined by the multiplex sentiments and activities arising out of kinship and domestic association. This is certainly so in modern Ngoniland, although the same principles of organization no longer apply at all levels.

I have described elsewhere the critical position of the modern Ngoni headman, linking the political system with the network of ties of kinship and co-residence operative within the village, and similar conditions have been reported elsewhere by Gluckman and Mitchell. Above the village, whether in a state or in a stateless society, relations are in the main between enduring groups and are defined with respect to interests vital to the survival of these groups, even if expressed in the idiom of kinship.[56]

Granted the existence of primitive states with continually segmenting political systems, such as the Zulu and Ngoni, it is then possible to look at from another point of view the various African political systems for which there is adequate information. In terms of political segmentation on a unilineal basis, states like the Ngoni and Zulu are closer in form to the stateless societies of the Nuer, Tallensi, Gusii and Logoli than to the Nupe and Kede states with their administrative systems largely independent of unilineal affiliation. To document this point fully would take us beyond the scope of this book; our purpose here is merely to emphasize the importance in comparative studies of examining political structures from more than one point of view.

When talking of states, we make the convenient distinction between internal and external political relations. No such simple distinction can be made with stateless societies, for in them relations which are external to one segment are internal to the next higher segment, and yet may still legitimately be regarded as political relations. The pre-Shakan chiefdoms of Zululand formed a system similar to the Tallensi maximal lineages, and we may speak therefore in that instance of a segmentary system regulating political relations between states. Ngoni external relations were not regulated in this way, for the Ngoni were isolated and unique in a region

[56] For this section, see Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* and 'Kinship among the Nuer'; Fortes, *Web of kinship*; Wagner, *Bantu of North Kavirondo*; Mayer, *Lineage principle in Gusii society*; Gluckman, 'Analysis of a social situation' and 'Kingdom of the Zulu'; Gluckman, *et al.*, 'Village headman'.

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successive head of a *major* segment memorialised in this way, but the *major* divisions of his polygynous household as well.

6. *Splitting the State*

When split occurred in the State, the cleavages were along segmentary, and not age-set, lines. The headquarters of the highest segment was differentiated from the major subdivisions within that segment, and the various divergent groups can be identified by the different segments which they represented. Once fusion had taken place, a realignment of segments was sometimes necessary. When after the death of Zwangendaba his great wife's segment was split, in each divergent group the man who was nearest in the line of succession to head of her segment claimed to be the rightful heir, and on the strength of that claim assumed leadership of the group.

Fission in the State was the end result of segmentation within it. Here we are using these two terms for two different processes. By segmentation we mean the process by which any social group becomes subdivided internally while retaining its own unity and cohesion. By fusion we mean the process by which a social group divides into two or more distinct groups, so that the original group disappears as a social entity.[48] Fission in the Ngoni State occurred without affecting the arrangement of segments within each group, but did disrupt the highest segment of all, within which the divergent groups had hitherto been contained. Segmentation was a process of growth taking place at all levels but particularly at the bottom of the hierarchy of political groups, while fusion was a process occurring only at the highest level. The process of segmentation in one generation could not alter the formal arrangement of higher segments determined in the previous generation, even though with each generation there was in fact an effective shift in the distribution of political power accompanied by spatial differentiation. The process of fusion did not bring into being any new segments, but merely dissolved the highest segment of all as a cohering political unit. The two processes were thus formally and in reality quite distinct, even though it is clear that they were not independent of one another. Increasing divergence of interest found expression at first in the creation of separate segments and ultimately in the formation of separate states.

The processes of segmentation and of spatial differentiation within the State were in general peaceful. Fission was a hazardous

[48] This use of terms differs from that of Fortes. He uses 'segmentation' to refer to a *state* of internal subdivision within a group, and 'fusion' to refer to the *process* of internal subdivision. cf. Fortes, *Web of kinship*, passim. I am indebted to Mrs. U. P. Mayer for this observation.

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always exhaust its total area and districts sometimes overlap. When I inquired of chiefs and their councillors how their counties were subdivided in terms of allegiance, rather than area, I was rarely given a clear answer. The names of various men of importance in the county were mentioned, but there was no consensus about their relative status or the limits of their territories. In the present system village headmen have definite responsibilities and so have county chiefs, but there are no intermediate posts. Segments have given way to counties and villages.

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regarded as a territory which would supply Native labour and, possibly, cattle to the south. Little attempt was made to develop the resources of the territory itself, and indeed in so far as Mpezeni's country was concerned, the B.S.A. Company had ceded its rights to do so to the North Charterland. The general pattern of White-Black participation in economic activity was taken over from South Africa, whence many of the early settlers came, and there was no attempt to train a Black *élite* to perform skilled tasks. Apart from the Ngoni and the Bemba, the Black population of North-Eastern Rhodesia had been taken under the administration of the B.S.A. Company without serious fighting and their chiefs did not have the opportunity to become leaders of opposition against the Whites. The Administration wished to keep its expenses low and found that the cheapest way of running the country was through the indigenous chiefs and headmen. Hence a system of administration grew up which was in many respects similar to that later known as Indirect Rule.[1] Chiefs and village headmen were placed under a statutory obligation to preserve law and order among their people. Some of them were paid a few shillings a year for their labours and were given ceremonial spears of office. There were no formally constituted Native courts, as there are now, but minor cases of all kinds were heard by indigenous tribunals, and the authority of these tribunals appears to have been upheld by the Administration in so far as their judgments were regarded as maintaining law and order. Indeed on occasion the Administration indicated to chiefs what kinds of cases they should deal with and what should be referred to the Administration. The collection of tax, one of the most important activities of the early administrators, was carried out with the assistance, or the enforced co-operation, of the Black leaders. Labour recruiters appear to have operated in much the same kind of way. Thus the commoner in his village found that to a considerable extent access for him to these new White agencies was along the traditional chain of authority through headman and chief. The missions were to a greater extent concerned with establishing relationships with individuals without reference to their position in indigenous society, but even they tried occasionally to work through chiefs and other notables. Thus despite the changed situation, the indigenous order was utilized by the White invaders and in so far as that order was useful to them they endeavoured to uphold it.

Nevertheless, the encouragement given by the Administration to recruiters of labour from the south, and the economic necessity

[1] cf. Hailey, *African Survey*, pp. 452-3.

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territory, its amalgamation with North-Western Rhodesia, and the transfer of responsibility from the British South Africa Company to the Colonial Office. Statutory instruments issued under these and later Orders have provided legal backing for successive schemes of African Administration.

In 1900 the Fort Jameson Division, containing the country occupied by the Ngoni, Kunda and part of the Cewa tribes, was established as part of the East Luangwa District, stretching from the Nyasaland border to the River Luangwa. The names of these areas were later changed to Fort Jameson District and Eastern Province respectively, and there have been numerous changes in their boundaries during the last fifty years, though none of them have affected the Ngoni. To avoid confusion, we shall use the term District only in its modern usage. In charge of the African population of the District was a Native Commissioner responsible to a Magistrate, posts corresponding roughly to the modern District Commissioner and Provincial Commissioner. The Native Commissioner, with his assistants who were Whites, had a force of Native messengers (otherwise known as boma messengers) attached to his office to convey instructions to the people of the District and to report irregularities to him. The Administrator, head of the Administration, appointed chiefs in charge of tribal districts (smaller than the Administrative Districts already mentioned), and under them were district headmen appointed by the Secretary for Native Affairs. There were also district messengers who lived in their villages, but assisted the Native Commissioner when he toured in their vicinity.

This scheme was regularized by the issue of the Native Commissioners' Regulations of 12 December 1908, made under King's Regulations of the same date. Minor amendments were introduced in 1913 and 1915, and a consolidating Proclamation was issued in 1916. This again was amended slightly in 1919.[13] The substance of the scheme was not altered until the enactment in 1929 of the Native Authorities Ordinance. A more comprehensive Ordinance, with provision for Native Treasuries, replaced this in 1936.[14]

The initiative in setting up, maintaining and modifying the system of administration lay with the Whites, not with the Ngoni, who indeed were only one tribe among many to whom the system applied. Yet the Administration endeavoured to enlist the support of chiefs and others who for the most part were persons of high status in their tribes. As early as 1905, the Administrator wrote of an

[13] Proclamations No. 3 of 1913, 11 of 1915, 8 of 1916, and 6 of 1919.
[14] Ordinances No. 32 of 1929, 9 of 1936.

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These decisions have been taken within frames of reference beyond the reach of our analysis and beyond the reach of Ngoni persuasion. We are here concerned with the way in which Ngoni society has been adapted and has adapted itself to these diverse intrusions from outside.

3. *Chiefs*

In the old residential system there was no definite category of persons whom we regard as chiefs. In the literature the lords of major segments are sometimes called chiefs, sometimes indunas (i.e. lieutenants), but it is clear that the importance of any particular segment varied from one time and situation to another, and that the only constant relations between positions in the social structure were vertical ones, between lord and dependant, and not horizontal, between persons at the same level in the hierarchy but in different parts of it. The administrative scheme introduced by the Whites provided for horizontal categorization as well as vertical grouping. There were to be a definite number of chiefs, district headmen, and later village headmen, whose names would appear on the Administration's files. The only indigenous categories of this kind were those of Paramount Chief and regional governor, and for this reason alone it was inevitable that the relationship between the old and new systems should be complex. Although the young Mpezeni II was not the only person to be called chief, his superior status was always recognized and later received formal ratification in the qualification Paramount. The regional governors may, perhaps, have formed a category of persons at the same level in the old hierarchy, but they were not very numerous, perhaps only a dozen in number, and under the new dispensation some managed to become chiefs or district headmen, while others failed to do so. Village headmen in the old system were lords of segments of many different orders of segmentation and of varying importance. If the large pre-conquest villages had continued, then perhaps their heads might have secured Administrative recognition. As it was, post-conquest settlements were all much smaller and there were more of them.

Apart from these formal considerations, the peculiar circumstances of the war introduced distortion. Some important people were killed in the fighting, others ran away, and the followers of others were scattered. More significantly, the arrival of the Administration, of traders and missions, provided means whereby people whose segments were of minor importance could advance themselves politically and gain control of large sections of the population.

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According to Coxhead, an Administrative Officer who published in 1914, there were at that time six minor chiefs under the Paramount. Four of these minor chiefs were sons of Mpezeni I.[19] Other Administrative records of the same period refer to ten 'subdivisions'. The Paramount Chief and the chiefs now in charge of counties 4, 14, 15 and 17 are each described as the 'important chief' in their subdivisions. The important chief in another subdivision is now not a county chief. The remaining four subdivisions had two chiefs each. Five of these are now county chiefs, one is a Cewa chief, and the remaining two are no longer chiefs. The title 'chief' was, however, not applied consistently by the Administration at that time and men who are called chiefs in some documents are called divisional or group headmen in others. In 1910, with the appointment of two new divisional headmen all Ngoniland villages in Northern Rhodesia were divided between ten rulers, not all of whom were called chiefs. Mpezeni II was ruler of one group of villages and Paramount over all ten, and the other nine rulers were the predecessors of the present minor chiefs. These ten groups of villages, and the two corresponding groups in Nyasaland, I have called *counties*. With one exception, each successive county chief has taken the name of his predecessor and this name is often used as the name of the county.

4. *County segments*

In each county there is one village known as the important village or capital. Many, but not all, of the villages in a county belong to the residential segment of which the capital is the headquarters. Thus we may speak of a county segment which forms, as it were, the core of the county. The villages that do not belong to the county segment fall into three main types. There are villages belonging to other segments under Mpezeni, there are a few which trace their origin to other Ngoni groups, and there are those which have entered Ngoniland after 1898 and so never formed part of the segmentary residential system. Most villages of the last type have come into Ngoniland from Cewa chiefdoms and some of them claim to have been settled in Ngoniland before the arrival of Mpezeni and to have been driven out by him. An indication of the distribution of villages in Northern Rhodesia counties among these different types is given in Table IV, where the only three counties for which I have the information are examined from this point of view.

[19] Coxhead, *Native Tribes*, p. 22.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

7. *Villages*

Throughout Ngoni history the village has been an easily recognizable residential unit. Many of the pre-conquest villages, particularly those which were headquarters of major segments, were large clusters of huts with thousands of inhabitants. Although there are none of comparable size to-day, the concept of the village remains. The bulk of the present Ngoni rural population live in discrete clusters of huts housing between fifty and two hundred people. These we call villages. Each village is spatially distinct from the next, and generally is surrounded by garden land and bush.

The post of headman of a single village has never been very important in the scheme of administration. Under the 1903 scheme, district headmen were appointed in charge of groups of villages. After 1916 this term was dropped in favour of minor chief, sub-chief or headman of a group of villages. The men referred to by these names were the people who became county chiefs. Below them no individuals were appointed as leaders of social groups. From at least 1904 onwards there were men called district messengers who carried ornamental spears as badges of office and who carried out the instructions of the Native Commissioner. They had the functions of policemen and messengers, although some of them were heads of villages in their own right. In 1916, the title of these men was changed to divisional headmen, and they were described as being heads of groups of villages. Nevertheless, at least among the Ngoni, most divisional headmen continued to act merely as messengers and police, and leadership of groups of villages continued to rest with the variously styled minor chiefs. After 1929 the work of divisional headmen was taken over partly by the Native Authority messengers and partly by land messengers, who are Government (Boma) messengers sent to live rurally from time to time.

Yet although the office of village headman has not been of Administrative significance, the village has always been an important social group. We have seen that even in pre-conquest times, when the State as a whole was much more concentrated spatially than it is now, the fact of common residence was of significance within the segmentary residential system. The village had a central cattle byre. Its headman was known by a special term and once a primal segment had grown to village size the segment name was not applied to any residual segment within the headquarters village. The policy of the Administration, combined with a change in kinship relations among the tribe (a change from the quasi-

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

agnation of the small segments to what I have termed an omni-directional system), has increased the importance of the single village. After 1898 the Administration endeavoured to bring the people back into villages of moderate size which could be easily supervised by the Administration acting through chiefs.[29] In 1912 a comprehensive scheme of Native reserves was proposed. To facilitate the introduction of the scheme, many small villages were amalgamated with others near by to form units of forty huts or more. The larger groups of composite villages were to form the nuclei of the reserves.[30] After 1930, when villages began to spread out again, many of the enforced amalgamations came to an end. The Administrative rules that every man must live in a recognized village and that a village with less than ten tax-paying men could not be recognized were not always enforced, although they were not repealed until 1945. Administrative recognition has been an important consideration in determining the size of villages but it has not been the only one.

In the residential system, the process of segmentation did not stop with the founding of the segments we now know as county segments. Already in 1898 there were very many more segments in being than the few we have shown in Diagram 1. There we have indicated the position of the major branches of the tree of State but have omitted the hundreds of minor limbs and thousands of twigs which made up the whole. Even if we restrict our attention to segments founded before 1898 we find within any county segment to-day many smaller groups, some of them divisions, others single villages, and a few containing several villages, which are in fact inferior segments formed by one or other of the processes we discussed in Chapter I. Lieutenants and others have made their own segments, junior sons have left their natal villages, and so on. The processes of segment formation since 1898 have not been identical with those prevailing before the conquest, for the quasi-agnatic structure of segments has been modified and segments of recent formation, if in fact we can legitimately call them segments at all, are not organized in the same hierarchical manner as in the old residential system. We shall discuss the formation of small social groups in a later part of our study, the analysis of village life. Here, at the county level, we have to deal with what is essentially a continuation of a pre-conquest process. Each successive head of a county segment, i.e. each county chief, has formed his own new segment within that of his predecessor. Thus, for instance, where

[29] *Reports on the Administration*, 1902, p. 2, and 1903, p. 2.
[30] *M.R.A.*, p. 108.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

the reigning chief is the grandson of the founder of the county segment, there is one minor segment founded by his father within which he has founded his own segment. In counties where there have been more than three successive heads of the segment, there will be more than one segment intervening between the county segment and that of the reigning chief. With the decline in polygyny, most chiefs have had only one bevy of wives or even a single wife, so that they have been each able to found only one segment. It will be convenient to speak of 'chief's segment' for a segment founded by a reigning chief, and of 'regal segment' for a segment founded by a former chief. With this nomenclature, each chief's segment becomes regal on the death of its founder.

This terminology links up with our use of the terms *regal* and *chief's village* as I have defined them elsewhere.[34] The headquarters of a regal segment is a regal village, and the headquarters of a chief's segment is a chief's village. Similarly the headquarters of a county segment is a capital village.

In general we may refer to capital, regal and chief's villages collectively as royal villages, for they represent the chieftainship, and the history of the State, as against the diverse particular interests represented by the villages led by commoners. Four minor chiefs are, however, not agnatic descendants of Zwangendaba, and we can call their segments and villages royal only with qualification. Two of these four chiefs use the royal descent-name, and they all generally ally themselves with their royal colleagues. Yet there are many Ngoni in these pseudo-royal counties, particularly true agnatic descendants of Zwangendaba or of regional governors, who are scornful of the royal pretensions of their county chiefs.

Some of the junior kinsmen of Zwangendaba became leaders of independent Ngoni groups. None of the junior sons of Mpezeni I became independent leaders but some of them or their descendants did become county chiefs. None of the junior sons of Nsingu or Mpezeni II became chiefs and under the present system none of them is likely to do so. Nevertheless they founded segments, and this has happened in every junior line. In each county, as well as the county, regal and chief's segments, whose founders have been on the direct line of succession to the chieftainship, there are also segments founded by junior members of the chiefly house. These we shall term *cadet segments* and the headquarters of a cadet segment a *cadet village*.

[34] Barnes, 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 204-6. In an earlier publication, 'Political development', p. 106, I used the adjective *private* in place of *regal* and *chief's*.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Apart from the fact that the head of the segment is, or once was, a member of the royal lineage, there is little difference between a cadet segment and a commoner one. The majority of segments in the system as a whole have been founded by commoners and the majority of extant villages are the headquarters of commoner segments. Before the conquest, one of the principal mechanisms for ensuring the spatial dispersal of an expanding population was the formation of new large villages, the headquarters of segments formed for bevies of queens. After the conquest a comparatively stationary population has dispersed not under the leadership of queens but by the formation of new segments by commoners, not all of them even lieutenants of their lords.

Some indication of the distribution of present-day villages among these various types is given in Table VII. This table is based on 82 village histories collected in the general course of fieldwork. The villages were selected casually and arbitrarily, without reference to this particular problem. I also collected the histories of several counties, in the course of which I became acquainted with other village histories. I have excluded these from the sample to avoid weighing it too heavily with capital and chief's villages, whose names are mentioned in county histories. In consequence, the sample contains no chief's village at all. It also contains too few villages that have come into Ngoniland from other tribal areas, as can be seen by comparing it with Table IV (p. 118). Nevertheless it should serve to show the rough orders of magnitude.

It will be seen that about four out of five at the present time are commoner villages, and that about half of these were already in existence as distinct villages in 1898. On the other hand, seven out of the nine royal villages in the sample were founded before 1898.

Apart from the six incoming villages and the two founded by a labour immigrant and Administrative action, all the villages in the sample have some segment of the old residential system, or its modern equivalent, as their core. Most of the commoner villages have been formed by the differentiation of a quasi-relative, cognatic or affinal relative from his lord. By contrast, most royal villages have been formed by differentiation between bevies of co-wives or between sons and their fathers.

In pre-conquest times there was a dogma that the chief owned all the cattle in the tribe. This dogma related to the structural position of the chief as head of the highest segment, and therefore in authority over the State and its resources rather than to the day-to-day care and disposal of cattle. There were cattle in each village

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

In contrast to this, the private affairs of the chieftainship, matters connected with royal cattle, disputes among the chief's wives and quarrels between the chief and his affines or close supporters are discussed at the chief's village. Quarrels of an apparently trivial nature, such as a chief's wife's running away with a lorry driver, would in the old days have threatened the whole internal structure of the county segment, and they are still treated as questions of State by the lieutenants and kinsmen of the chief who attend these meetings. The contrast between these two kinds of assembly is striking. They are described by different vernacular terms,[26] and while any man can attend and speak at a meeting at the court, it would be considered inappropriate for him to intervene in a meeting at the chief's village unless his position in the old residential system was a high one. Women listen to court meetings, but rarely if ever speak, for the Administration works very largely through men and it is men who discuss the kinds of thing in which the Administration is interested. At the chief's village, the interests of the chief's kinswomen and wives are often directly concerned and they themselves contribute to the discussion. The marriages of chiefs established, and to a lesser extent do still reinforce and establish, affinal ties which cut across the cleavages between segments and which were crucial to the balance of power within the State. A quarrel between a chief and his wife was a matter of political, and not merely domestic, significance and must therefore be discussed by the chief's political advisers.

The sanction of deportation appears to be employed only in connexion with offences against the chieftainship. Thus a lieutenant who embezzled some royal cattle was called before a meeting at his chief's village attended by the important lieutenants in the county, and ordered to leave the country. Similarly, a man who was found drinking with a chief's wife under suspicious circumstances was ordered to leave the country by a tribunal of this kind. He moved first to another county, but was forced to move on again out of Ngoniland. Such actions are sometimes taken without reference to recognized Native Courts or to the Administration, and the effectiveness of the tribunal's decision depends on the support it has from the people as a whole and from the Native Authority organization rather than on the ultimate sanctions wielded by the Administration. However, when matters of this

[26] A meeting to discuss matters of general interest is *mzukhasa*; one to discuss affairs of the chieftainship is *luŵanzya*. cf. *ku-zukhasa*, to assemble (Nyanja) and *i(li)bandla*, assembly (Zulu). The different derivation of the words, from Nyanja and Zulu, is significant. *Luŵanzya* also means age-set.

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were, however, and they realized it at such assemblies, the people of the Paramount, and he was to them the visible symbol of their unity in one kingdom.

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The Court System of the Ngoni

The enforcement of the laws as announced and discussed at these assemblies was the business of the courts, where the laws themselves were interpreted and often elaborated on occasions of an open breach.

The relationships of the courts in the kingdom followed the hierarchical pattern of the political organization. All minor cases were heard and, wherever possible, settled at the village level. If the plaintiff failed to get satisfaction, or if the village headman was unable to get his judgement accepted, he had to go with the litigants to the chief's court, and [698] if he failed there, the case could be taken to the appeal court of the Paramount. There were certain cases, such as murder and witchcraft, which in pre-European days could only be dealt with in the Paramount's court.

Some confusion arose over the use of one term 'court' for every type of institution which exercised judicial functions. The Nyanja term used in central Ngoniland for the courts at the lowest level was *bwalo*, literally the open space in front of the *indlunkulu* in any Ngoni village. Nothing could be apparently more informal than the discussion among a group of senior men called together by the headman, on a verandah or under a big tree, in order to settle quarrels and hear complaints. No formal records were kept, there was no clerk, and there was no summing up or pronouncement of judgement. There was, if the meeting was successful, general agreement about the action necessary and about who ought to initiate action. Above the level of this village headman's court were the courts of the *akwasanza* held at their head villages, and above them again the chiefs' courts. After 1933 the courts of the *akwasanza* gave place to the courts at the head villages of the chiefs. The proceedings there were more formal and included presenting evidence, defending the case and pronouncing judgement on cases rather than, as in the villages, talking things over and appealing to certain principles to re-establish equilibrium and resolve disputes.

● [622] The Ngoni nevertheless always recognized these courts at the village level as an integral part of their system. It was the mark of a good headman that he should be able to settle the minor cases in his village without [563] constant reference to higher authority. The majority of villages under Ngoni rule were villages of local tribes who had surrendered to, or been conquered by, the Ngoni. The headmen were therefore of the local tribe, as a rule surrounded by their kinsmen, and their position carried with it the necessity of relating local tribal custom, especially in matters involving marriage and family affairs, to the legal principles and procedure of the Ngoni courts. Many cases came before the courts in

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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all their things. Even when the Paramount agreed that a man should be killed he ordered that all his possessions were to come to him, stock, slaves, wives and children. These were called *inini nenkosi*, the things of the Paramount, and they were divided among the headmen of the Paramount, and the master of the man killed got nothing. This was done to teach the failure of the villagers that they should not denounce their people to death because they coveted their goods or people. The Paramount taught them by taking all the belongings of the one killed and they got nothing. Of course the Paramount's and chiefs' villages grew quickly in this way. At the beginning the punishment for adultery and murder was death; in adultery both the man and the woman were killed. Beginning from the time of Mlatwa and Mtwalo the penalty for adultery has been changed. The man who did it was despoiled of his goods or paid compensation. The courts agreed that any man wronged by such adultery could go with a war-party to the village of the guilty man and take what he wanted, but not kill any person. The Paramount took no notice of such an affair.

No account of the conduct of cases in Ngoni courts would be complete without reference to the popular interest in and support for the law. After a day in the courts the *iziinduna* and the *amandala* talked of almost nothing else. They went over and over the details of the cases, and recalled former cases of a similar kind and compared the judgements given. They criticised each other sharply for the handling of cases, and such criticism was taken well on the whole, as a contribution to the process of interpreting and enforcing the law rather than as a personal affront. The attendance of the public at the court sessions was encouraged so long as they observed due decorum. When talking broke out among the onlookers, the *induna* in charge bellowed 'Silence' in a voice of thunder. If a group of women continued to chatter and giggle after the *induna* had called for silence, he told them to go home. The interest in courts and cases extended to the play of children and to the conduct by the boys of their own affairs in the *lomusi* or boys' dormitory. I often saw the young son of a chief or *induna* organising his playmates into a court and allocating roles to them and in his play imitating the voice and gestures of his father.

Ngoni office-bearers

In Chapter II of Part I we stated that the main element in the Ngoni political system in the 1930's was a ruling aristocracy supported by a hierarchy of officials. In this chapter we shall first look at two texts, one by Cibambo on the northern kingdom and the other by a big *induna* in the central kingdom, explaining the relationship of the different office-bearers to the Paramount. We shall see how there were in effect two groups of office-bearers, one related to the territorial divisions of the kingdoms, and the other consisting of state or national officials and those connected with the royal village. There was no set of terms which could

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be used exclusively for either group, and in fact there was considerable overlapping between them. 622 631 645

We begin with the text by Cilumbo which emphasises the hierarchy of office-bearers in the northern kingdom in pre-European days and illustrates the correlation between the courts and the political administration.

¶ The former government of the Ngoni was based on the following:

(1) Above all was the one called *Inkosi* or *UBulu*, because they thought of him as the father of the country, the head.

(2) After him came the *izinduna*. Sometimes these were two or perhaps four. These were very highly honoured and the Paramount feared them greatly: he called them *Bukulu* and their words had great weight with him. They were the ones who gave advice to the Paramount and if any grave matter arose he called them to hear what they thought. The Paramount in his village had also his old men who helped him with everything small that did not need to go to the *izinduna*. If there was word that the Paramount was meeting with the *izinduna* he first of all met with the old men and asked for advice to place before the *izinduna*. And these old men had the right to speak when the Paramount took counsel with the *izinduna*.

(3) After the *izinduna* came the *amakosana*, or lesser chiefs. These were perhaps the younger brothers of the ruling Paramount, and had their districts under him. They also had their *izinduna* and were responsible for their own districts. When the Paramount met with the *izinduna*, the *amakosana* were also there if it was considered fitting.

(4) Then there were the *akomnumu*. These were over villages or smaller districts. Their villages were called *amakanda* (heads) and they had power in their small districts to carry out the laws and they looked to the *izinduna* for instructions.

(5) Lastly the old men (*amadala*) who wore the head-ring (*idilodlo*) but not all of them; only those who had good sense and understood the ways of the tribe. [883]

All these five divisions had their share in the government of the country. If there was a great court of justice, all these were to be found at it, and took part in the discussions. If fresh matter arose, or new laws, these delivered them to their villages. Also there were men called *amanxusa*, messengers. These were men chosen to run with messages from the Paramount to the *izinduna* or *amakosana*, to go with and return with news. Almost every village or little district had its chosen messengers. All the types (2), (3) and (4) had their messengers. When anything happened, the messenger in the village of the Paramount made a general proclamation and called the *amanxusa* together. When the *amanxusa* had heard the message they scattered throughout all the country. So in the districts and by this way news travelled very quickly. [202]

In the central kingdom one of the big *izinduna* explained the change in their system which occurred after crossing the Zambesi: 178 622 631 645

¶ When the Ngoni were coming from the south they chose lesser chiefs and *izinduna* from the *amakosana*, who were the Paramount's brothers,

178 622 631 645

sons of his father and of his father's brothers. These *amakosana* were honoured next to the Paramount. The *akwazansi* were for justice in the courts, and for being the 'ears of the Paramount' in all the country. The change was made by Mpeta because he saw that if the *amakosana* were given power they claimed to be big chiefs themselves. Therefore he chose for the courts and for the leaders in war and for lesser chiefs the *akwazansi* and *izinduna* who were clever and whom they could trust.

184 622 631 645 [618]

The diagram on p. 99 relates to the period between 1933 and 1939 and sets out first the officials in the territorial divisions of the Ngoni kingdoms from the Paramount to the headman of a village. In the northern kingdom only the Paramount and the six chiefs had recognized courts, the chiefs' courts operating for their districts and the Paramount's court for the whole kingdom. There were two sets of office-bearers who had no courts but who exercised authority over groups of villages. One group consisted of members of the Jere clan who were not recognized chiefs but were *amakosana*, literally 'children of the chief' but used as a rule for all members of the royal clan. Only certain *amakosana* had villages under them. The other group consisted of the heads of Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans who owned several villages and sometimes had authority over a large area. Cibambo put this group below that of the chiefs, and other informants confirmed this as the pre-European pattern. But the informants also said that many of the powerful *akwazansi* formerly had their own courts and did not have to bring their cases to the chiefs' courts as they did in the 1930's. At the bottom of the territorial hierarchy came the headmen of single villages. In some cases the village headman had formerly been an *induna* in a large village which had broken up. Some were of the royal clan or of Swazi clans. The majority belonged to the local tribes and were owners of villages which were for the most part villages of one kinship group.

The text about the hierarchy in the central kingdom shows that a deliberate change had been made in the traditional pattern to avoid a struggle between the Paramount and his brothers when they had recognized positions as chiefs. The *akwazansi* who appear in the diagram as chiefs were the six who were recognized in 1933 as Subordinate Native Authorities. There were other *akwazansi* who were not so recognized, and certain members of the royal clan, all of whom owned a number of villages but had to take their cases to the recognized courts. The division caused by setting up the Portuguese boundary in the 1890's left many of the leaders of the Maseko clan on the Portuguese side, with the result that the number of *amakosana* owning villages and taking any prominent part in the life of the kingdom was very small; and another large group of the Maseko clan were in Dedza district under Chief Kacindamoto. The majority of village headmen in the central kingdom were of local tribes, and their villages were as a rule much larger than those in the northern kingdom.

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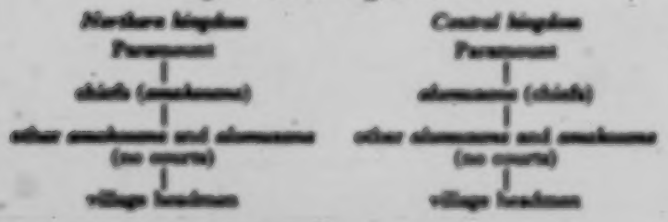
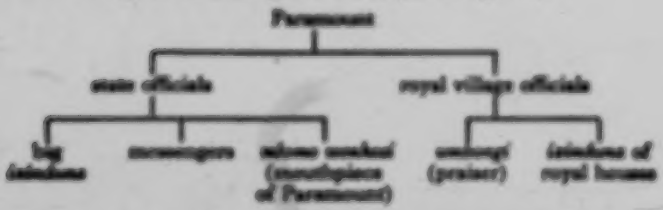
Ngoni territorial office-bearers. 622



631 643 645

Ngoni national office-bearers (both kingdoms)



In the description of the annual gathering in the central kingdom to discuss new regulations, reference was made to those on 'the platform' at one end of the great square. There the Paramount sat with his state officials, the big *izinduna*, the messengers, and his spokesman or mouthpiece. These have been called state officials in the diagram to distinguish them from the officials of the royal village. It is a distinction which is one of convenience rather than of importance. The Paramount's spokesman lived in the royal village, and the praiser often did not. But the spokesman appeared with the Paramount on all occasions in every part of his kingdom when he went visiting, whereas the official praiser only recited the praise-songs at ceremonies in the royal village. 643 645

The big *izinduna*, as Cibambo points out in his text, were very close to the Paramount, advising him on matters of state, and speaking to the cases in his court. The *izinduna* of the big house and of other houses in the royal village were not concerned with matters of state, but with day-to-day affairs in the village. Illustrations of their work will be given in the next chapter. The work of the messengers, described by Cibambo, was that of keeping close touch between the royal village and the chiefs. He describes also how each territorial office-bearer had his messengers to send out to the heads of the next group below his. By this use of messengers for intercommunication between officials, the *akamusana* and *amakosana* who had no courts received messengers from the chief above them and sent out their own messengers to the villages which they owned. [203]

The only group mentioned by Cibambo which is not included in the 885 692

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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incorporated into the nation'. This, as we saw in Chapter I of Part I, was what took place in the Ngoni kingdoms. By the time they settled in Nyasaland, a hierarchical relationship had been built up between the clans based on the length of time they had formed part of the Ngoni kingdom. As the Swazi had their true Swazi, 'those found ahead', and late comers, so the Ngoni had their 'Swazi' clans, others from across the Zambesi, those who joined from this side, and the local peoples.

Dr. Kuper [1] summarized her description of the Swazi clan hierarchy by saying that it was 'neither precise nor static . . . a certain degree of mobility is recognized amongst the élite'. The Ngoni too had their own ways of adjusting a somewhat rigid system to suit their needs in spite of their recognition of the ranking of clans, and the fact that in the 1930's the kingdoms were ruled by an aristocracy. As among the Swazi, officials were appointed who did not belong to Swazi or trans-Zambesi clans. Much importance was attached, as also among the Swazi, to 'marrying up' and a number of instances of this were recorded, particularly in the central kingdom. In such cases a man, when explaining who he was, often gave the name of his mother as well as that of his father in order to impress upon the inquirer that he came from Swazi stock on one side, though his clan name, being his father's, did not show it.

Since some discussion of clans comes into every section of this book it will be useful to summarize here the main characteristics of the Ngoni clans in the two kingdoms. We shall be referring exclusively to the Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans, except when others are specifically mentioned.

Each clan was primarily a group of people with a common name. The families bearing this name might be found throughout the Ngoni kingdoms and states, in the towns and elsewhere, as the census figures quoted in Chapter I, Part I show. Their kinship was recognized firstly through clan exogamy, and secondly through the fact that when Ngoni people met a fellow clansman, they greeted him with particular warmth and both individuals were prepared to render each other mutual service. I met a number of the younger educated Ngoni who set out on a journey in Nyasaland, or to Northern or Southern Rhodesia, with the express purpose of looking for fellow clansmen, getting hospitality from them, and inviting them to visit Nyasaland and receive return hospitality. I was present at one or two such meetings in Nyasaland between Ngoni from the two kingdoms and the conversation began by establishing what branch of the Moyo or Gama clan they belonged to, and where the head village was situated. Within each kingdom each clan had a head village, and the head of that village was the head of the clan. In most of the Swazi clans the head of the clan was acknowledged as a *mulumuzana*. This correlation between being head of a Swazi clan and being a

[1] ibid. p. 233.

614 *muhumuzana* was not invariable. Some informants said that *ahumuzana*
622 were appointed by the Paramount. Others said that if the ancestor of a Swazi clan was known by name to have crossed the Zambesi with Zwangendaba or Mputa then his descendant in the direct line was always a *muhumuzana*.

614 It was the criterion of having a known ancestor and knowing the genealogy of the clan that was most widely accepted in acknowledging
[769] the head of a Swazi clan as *muhumuzana*. At the clan head village prayers were addressed to this ancestor, his cattle were sacrificed, and the names recited as far back as tradition and memory could recall. Later we shall see that there were said to be about 25 Swazi clans in the northern kingdom and 29 in the central. Among these about 15 in the northern and 12 in the central kingdom had head villages where the ancestor cult was performed. In the central kingdom several of the leading clans had their head villages in Portuguese territory, and therefore did not carry out the cult in the central kingdom.

554 In the hierarchy of the clans the Swazi clans were the acknowledged
614 leaders. In village and national life this leadership was accorded to the royal clans and the clans of the chiefs, and was the reason for the respect shown to *ahumuzana* who had no direct political power. Only the heads of Swazi clans possessed *izitokozo* (honorific epithets) which commemorated events in the past history of the clan leaders. On all ceremonial occasions heads of Swazi clans, whether in national or in village affairs, took precedence over the rest when walking in procession, standing for dances, taking part in ritual, or sitting down at feasts. Certain
[766] forms of burial, such as the use of a sheep-skin, and placing the corpse on a shelf in the grave, were observed only for members of the Swazi clans.

582 In arranging marriages, there was, in addition to strict exogamy
614 within a clan, a prohibition on marriage between clans which had *cibale* (brotherhood) relations. In the central kingdom the royal clan, Maseko, had *cibale* with the Ngozo clan which provided the royal shadow, and
[762] with the Nzunga clan. The Nzunga and the Maseko clans shared the same taboos, notably elephant and fish. As well as prohibited marriages between certain clans, there were preferred marriages between certain others. In general there was a preference for marriage between the families of leading Swazi clans. In the northern kingdom the Nqumayo clan had a preference for marrying into the Thole, Nhlane, Maluleka and Pakati clans. It was alleged that formerly they could marry only into these clans, but in the 1930's exceptions were found in a number of villages.

614 The following lists of the names of Swazi clans were collected from informants in the two kingdoms, who were questioned closely about which names should be included under the title of Swazi. This was the grouping claimed by the Ngoni in both kingdoms. They said emphatic-

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

was instructed before marriage how to keep these household possessions in good repair, and how to smear the floor and walls of the hut with cowdung so that they presented the shining surface typical of Ngoni buildings.

The tables which follow show the total population of three villages in each kingdom at the time they were visited in 1938 and 1939, including such data as the number of widows, of plural marriages, of wives for whom *lobola* was given, and the number of men away at work.

	1 Huts	2 Men	3 Women	4 Children	5 Total	6 Men away	7 Widows	8 Plural marriages	9 Lobola marriages
Northern kingdom									
Ewazini .	23	10	21	28	59	10	4	4	21
Endindeni .	15	9	21	21	51	4	1	4	15
Eluhangeni	37	19	36	54	109	11	4	5	32
Central kingdom									
Cinkwita .	39	22	39	54	115	13	5	4	2
Mangozo .	60	41	65	78	184	9	18	2	4
Mcakhatha	122	71	112	68	251	30	16	14	12

Earlier in this chapter reference was made to the patterns of residential grouping on a kinship basis, which had evolved from the mixed tribal groups in the very large villages of pre-European days. The choice of these six villages as examples was made mainly on the grounds that they had a considerable proportion of members of Swazi or trans-Zambesi clans and therefore illustrated the traditional Ngoni pattern of kinship grouping. The northern kingdom villages showed the *kumgulu* and *gogo* pattern still extant. It had disappeared in the central kingdom villages with the result that the villages were much larger, and included groups based on house affiliation which would have been divided into separate villages in the north. On the other hand the sub-division of a village in the central kingdom into *banja* was not found in the north.

The data concerning these villages have been analysed to illustrate the households associated with the chief man in the leading clan in the village. These households were those of his wives, his mothers, his brothers, his sons, sisters and daughters. In the north this man was in one case a *mukumuzana*, in another a son of a great war *induna*, and in the third the head of a collateral branch of the royal clan. In the central kingdom the chief man in one was a *mukumuzana*, in another a grandson of a great war *induna*, and in the third the head of the clan of the royal shadow. The proportion of households belonging to the leading clan was much higher in the smaller villages of the north than in the rest, since they were approximating to a one-family village.

Households[1]

	Total	Leading clan
Northern Ngoniland		
Eswazini	23	15
Endindeni	15	12
Eluhangeni	37	21
Central Ngoniland		
Cinkwita	39	18
Mangoso	60	26
Mcakhatha	122	37

The proportion of persons of Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans in the central kingdom to the total population was lower than in the north. The figures given here, however, do not show the total number of persons of Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans, but only the households related on a kinship basis with the leading clan head.

Eswazini and Endindeni were both built in traditional Ngoni style in horse-shoe formation round a single kraal, with the *indlunkulu* at the head of the kraal, and a recognized right-hand and left-hand grouping. Eswazini had become the head village of the Sibande clan since its owner, Samson Sibande, on his father's death had gone out from his father's village and made this his *lusungulu* village. His big wife, of the royal clan, was in the *indlunkulu* to which she had succeeded on the death of his mother, and there was another wife on the right and left hand. Of the older generation there was only one widow of his father, belonging to the same house as his mother. Of his generation there were five brothers, one of the same mother as Samson, and four sons of the surviving widow of his father. There was also the widow of a dead brother by the same mother. Two sisters of Samson were in the village, one married to the *induna* of his mother's house, whose family lived on the right-hand side of the kraal, and one a deserted widow who had returned to her brother's protection. All the village was one house, that of Samson's own mother.

Endindeni was a *gogo* village owned by Zibekere Makwakwa who was the son of a famous war *induna* and was of the *gogo* house of his father. His brother, who was the son of the big house, had moved out to his own village. The village was composed entirely of his family with the exception of an age mate with whom he had an *ubale* relationship, who lived with his two wives on the left-hand side of the kraal. Zibekere's big wife was in the *indlunkulu* to which she had succeeded on the death of his own mother, and his second wife was also of her house. Of the older generation there was one widow of his father, and one widow of his father's brother; of his own generation, one younger brother of the same mother. There were four sons of his big wife and two of his second

[1] In all six villages the total number of households included two or more *lawasi*.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

There were musicians and craftsmen there, as at Enkodlweni. All the senior Ngoni men knew Ngoni history, used proverbs in the courts and in conversation, and two or three senior men knew and carried out the ritual of the ancestor cult. The new element in this village was due to economic influences rather than missionary and educational. Most of the men had learned to read and write Nyanja while away at work, but no one knew more than a few words of English, and only one or two of the leading men, and no women, spoke Ngoni.

The men of the leading Ngoni families formed a closely knit group for purposes of village affairs, social life and ritual performances. There was a group of senior Ngoni women who exerted a powerful influence in all matters concerned with household life and the bringing up of children. But out of a total of one hundred and twenty-one households, only thirty-seven belonged to men of Ngoni clans, and there were only thirty-two women of Ngoni clans including both the older and the younger groups of women. The aristocratic group here was small in comparison with Enkodlweni, but the influence of their ways of living was proportionately much stronger. The Ngoni men and women of leading families were very conscious of their cultural distinction and also of their relatively small numbers, and many were the complaints about 'those other people who are spoiling our land'.

Political and social changes

When the British took over the administration of Nyasaland between 1891 and 1901, the Ngoni kingdoms received no special recognition. Their chiefs, called by the administration principal village headmen, and their heads of clans called village headmen, were relegated to the same position *vis-à-vis* the administration as the local peoples. Part of the Central Ngoni kingdom was cut off from the rest by the treaty demarcating the Nyasaland boundary from Portuguese East Africa.

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

463 foreman in charge of gangs of workers. All this last group
177 involved the earning, spending and sharing of money in-
[434] comes, but even more important in Ngoni eyes, they offered
[571] opportunities of exercising authority, and of controlling and directing others.

624 In local government and in the courts, which formed an
693 integral part of it, the qualities demanded were wisdom, ability to make decisions, expert knowledge of the law, skill in conducting cases and in summing up evidence, and knowledge of the people, so that their reactions to new measures and to difficult court decisions could be forecast. Certain
[827] women were thought of as inheriting this kind of judicial
[562] ability and were often turned to in private by their husbands, sons or brothers and asked to declare themselves in support of or against an important decision and to discuss its merits or demerits.

● 622 In choosing a successor to a chief the regents who were responsible for the selection looked for particular qualities of individual character as well as for evidence of the ideal Ngoni personality traits. Men who by right of inheritance could have succeeded their father were sometimes passed over because they showed characteristics which would make them a bad chief. This was one of the reasons why sons of leading men were watched so closely and corrected so sharply by the elders of a village who were noting their adjustment to the basic personality pattern as well as their individual character.

There were certain acknowledged ritual activities which demanded of the performer both a high degree of conformity to Ngoni personality patterns and special individual characteristics. On the death of a chief one of his sons or brothers was designated to become head of the 'elder' village which remained behind, when the new chief with some of the members of his father's 'house' moved out to found a new village. The 'one who stayed behind' as he was called was expected to be the epitome of all Ngoni qualities, and to have a good memory for, and an understanding of, Ngoni tradi-

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

tion. In all the selection of individuals to 'enter the place' of an important person who had died, the new holder of the place had to measure up to Ngoni personality standards and be acknowledged as a 'good character'.

The new kinds of occupation open to Ngoni men as a result of education in the mission schools were of two main types: those where the holders of the job still lived in the Ngoni kingdom and carried on their work in the setting of a Ngoni village; and those which involved leaving the village and living and working outside Ngoniland, more or less out of sight and out of control of Ngoni elders.

Some of the mission teachers, ministers, and evangelists returned to live in Ngoni villages after they had completed their training, though others of course were posted elsewhere. In one of the villages described in Chapter I there had been in the early days of mission work fierce and continuous opposition to the opening of schools, as well as to the preaching of Christianity. I mentioned the old evangelist who had been threatened with death by the chief when he first took up his work. If he had left under those threats he would have lost out for ever among his people, for he would have been called a coward. He stayed, cultivated his land, grew his own food, was a great hunter, was respectful to the chief and elders, brought up his children to respect Ngoni traditions. He gradually gained the reputation of being brave, a 'gentle' man, a powerful and fluent speaker in the church on Sundays, a man of wisdom and judgement, and he was constantly asked for his opinion on village affairs. Most of the village, Christian and non-Christian alike, went to the church service on Sundays, sang the Ngoni hymns, listened to his sermons in the Ngoni language, sprinkled with Ngoni proverbs and illustrated by episodes from Ngoni life and history. Very few people in that village over twenty-five years old were Christians, but the leading Ngoni families allowed him to baptize younger and older children and to instruct them in Sunday-school. The Ngoni elders contributed to the

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

159 797 church funds in cash or in kind, and helped to build the church and school.

159 875 The younger headmaster of the school had never been threatened with death. He came in on the tide of recognition and respect accorded to the character and behaviour of the evangelist. His grandfather, like the evangelist's father, had been a well-known warrior with his own praise song celebrating his exploits. When the chief saw the exemplary behaviour of the headmaster and his Ngoni wife, listened to some of the lessons in school, watched the boys 'drill' in the playground, he ordered all Ngoni boys and girls in the village to attend school, and arranged a roster for cattle-herding, so that the boys would learn herding as well as their school lessons. He sent for the headmaster to report to him periodically on how the children were behaving, and which ones were showing particular aptitudes. The young headmaster showed characteristic Ngoni ability to organize his school, control his staff, demand and get good behaviour from the children. He was, like the evangelist, a huntsman of repute, and he was too a good dancer, and had a judgement in public affairs that was acknowledged to be beyond his years.

●[622] [871]

177 797 871 186 The aversion shown in the other Ngoni village described in Chapter I to schools and to missions generally arose partly from the fact that there were no Ngoni teachers or ministers serving that area. The teachers in near-by schools were from a tribe whom the Ngoni despised and whose personal habits they deplored. The missions in the area had made no attempt to integrate schoolteaching and preaching in the churches with Ngoni life and thought. Some Ngoni fathers sent their boys to the Scottish Mission boarding-school in Blantyre, and were willing to pay the fees because they knew and believed in those in charge of that school.

871 463 554 Ngoni fathers, and this was true of both areas, expected their boys who had been to school and had entered European employment away from their homes, to find work which assured them a superior and not an inferior or unskilled

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

position. They wanted them to be, or to become, senior clerks, trusted store assistants, valued houseboys, foremen in charge of other men, hospital assistants. They wanted them, in other words, to be in positions where Ngoni traits would be appreciated, and where good behaviour and self-control, ability to supervise others, responsibility and initiative, obedience to orders, would be recognized and rewarded.

In conclusion here is a record of a conversation I heard in the village of a very senior chief, so senior that he was given the title of *Inkosi* when his subjects addressed him. The chief, who was then in his seventies, but active and vigorous, was sitting in a chair on the veranda of his hut, out of the sun's glare, with several of the senior men of the village behind him. Two young teachers in charge of a school came to greet him. They bent one knee as they squatted in front of him, as they had been taught to do as children, gave him the customary greeting, and waited in silence till he spoke.

'How is your school?'

'The classes are full and the children are learning well, *Inkosi*.'

'How do they behave?'

'Like Ngoni children, *Inkosi*.'

'What do they learn?'

'They learn reading, writing and arithmetic, scripture and geography and drill.'

'Is that education?'

'It is education, *Inkosi*.'

'No! No! Education is *very* broad, *very* deep. It is not only in books, it is learning to live. I am an old man. When I was a boy I went with the army to the Bemba war. Then the mission came and I went to school. I became a teacher. Then I was a chief. I have seen this country change, and now the young men go away to work. I tell you Ngoni children must learn how to live, and how to work and earn money, and how to build up our land. *Uyezwa na?*' (Do you hear?)

'*Yebo Inkosi*.' (Yes, O chief.)

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

CHAPTER I

MARRIAGE IN THE TIME OF PEACE

1. *The old social structure*

IN THE DAYS before the European conquest, the Ngoni people lived in large villages each containing hundreds of huts built round a central cattle byre. Each married woman had her own hut and there were separate dormitories for boys and for girls. The huts were grouped into small clusters, each containing the dwellings of a few close agnates with their wives and children under the leadership of the senior male agnate. If the leader of the cluster was an important person, captives taken in war were allocated to him and their huts were included in his own cluster. Clusters were grouped into divisions, each usually under the control of a village lieutenant. Within the same division the heads of clusters were either agnates of the lieutenant or were people who had been captured by him or his father or who had been allocated to him by the chief and who were therefore bound to him as quasi-kinsmen. Several divisions made up a village under a headman or a regional governor. The village lieutenants were dependents or former captives of the headman or his ancestors, and were allocated to their divisions by him. Some divisions were under the control of junior kinsmen of the headman. Each village was attached to a royal headquarters where there was a senior queen. This arrangement of clusters, divisions, villages, and royal headquarters, which I refer to as the residential system, seems to have been similar to that found to-day among the Swazi.[1]

The system was a growing one. Brothers brought up in the same cluster gradually achieved their independence and split off to establish clusters of their own. The heads of clusters grew in importance and were promoted to village lieutenants so that their clusters became divisions, while divisions grew too large to be contained within the villages and moved off to establish themselves as separate villages. This process of expansion did not in itself affect the formal hierarchy of authority. The lieutenant who established his own village as a distinct spatial entity still remained a lieutenant of his lord, and deferred to him in matters of importance. The same word[2] was used to refer to a division of a royal headquarters, a division of a village, and a cluster within a division. The relationships of superordination and subordination between persons remained the same despite changes in spatial separation.

[1] Cf. Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*, p. 66.

[2] *Cigawa*, pl. *vigawa*, from *ku-gawa*, to divide.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

11. Headmen

The kin of the couple are not the only people in the village who are concerned in their marriage. In any matter of importance taking place in the village, attracting many onlookers and participants, there should always be someone to represent the 'owner' of the village, as the headman is also called. This is as true of marriage as of anything else. The intervention of the headman is clearly seen in such situations as the gall bladder ceremony and the entry into the wife's mother's hut. At these public affairs a lieutenant may be acting as master of ceremonies, even though he is not directly related to the couple. In most villages everyone is related in some way or other to everyone else in the village, but unless the marriage involves one of the close kin of the headman or his lieutenant, it is clear from the role he plays that he is present not because of his kinship to the couple but because he is a political official in the village. Thus at a gall bladder ceremony a lieutenant was called in to anoint the bride although he came from another division of the village. At another, a village lieutenant instructed the bride with these words: 'I am the lieutenant of the village. Fear me and I will also fear you. Work hard for [your father-in-law] Jesse.'

The headman of the village ought to be called to, or at least told about, any meeting to discuss a quarrel, and if the matter is taken to the court, he may be required to explain what steps he took to settle the quarrel in the village. His opinion on the character of the married couple is listened to. In the case of Daniel and Deborah, we have seen that at the first two meetings the headmen of the two villages were present, and although the headman of Daniel's village was not very closely related to him (he was Daniel's father's wife's father's wife's son) he took part in the discussion. At the third meeting the headman of Deborah's village was not called, but it is significant that the headman's father's father's brother's son was called in. The village was in danger of splitting at about that time, for a variety of reasons, and the headman's classificatory father was trying to form a separate village.

12. The Court

Beyond the ambit of the village lie the courts and the Administration. We have seen that it is to the court that married couples go when their troubles are greater than their kinsfolk can deal with. Beyond the courts there is always the possibility of appeal to the Administration, and from time to time the Administration intervenes in village affairs on its own initiative. Another external system impinging on marital affairs is that focussed on the missions. By contrast, the interests of White planters and urban employers are concentrated in fields other than marriage, and except in the case of employees of long standing, they do not concern themselves with the marital affairs of their labourers, save in so far as attention to these may conflict with a man's attendance at work. In the particular

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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that loss of sovereignty itself does not necessarily disrupt the marriage arrangements of common people and we must look elsewhere for an explanation.

2. Movement between villages

The old villages formed part of the residential system, and their structure was maintained by the power of the central chieftainship, as expressed through the lieutenants of the royal villages, and by the diffuse sanction of public opinion based on ideas held in common as to the rights conferred by the payment of bridewealth. Nowadays the lieutenants of the royal villages have very much less power, and bridewealth is not often paid. The village is held together by the various ties of kinship and affinity between its members, and to a slight extent by the restriction of movement from one village to another. This control, exercised by the Administration through the system of registration of adult males, is largely ineffective except in the Resettlement Areas.[3] Men and women are more or less free to live wherever they can find relatives, and if they quarrel in one village they can move to another where they hope life will be more pleasant. There is no general rule to which appeal can be made concerning whether a married couple should live uxorilocally or virilocally. Hence a quarrel between man and wife or between affinally related people may lead to a split in the village, and the dissident section may attempt to form a village of its own or attach itself to another village. It is therefore in the interests of the headman that quarrels in his village should be settled as rapidly as possible, and he has therefore an interest in the private lives of his people even though they may not be his close relatives. His interests are represented by his lieutenants and are shared by everyone in the village who wishes his own to be a large prosperous and happy village. The theme of the good and happy village recurs in many of the formal situations of Ngoni life and finds expression in much of local action on a village basis, as for example in the competitive dances, the division of food at a ceremony and the organization of the religious sects.

We find therefore that the headman and his lieutenants participate in the ceremonies of marriage and in marital quarrels. Conversely the headman is brought into relationship with the married couple by the allocation to him of pots of beer whenever there is a general distribution even though he may not be at the ceremony. Other important men and women similarly participate merely because of their common membership of the village. For example, a hoeing party was led by a middle-aged woman who was described as 'an important person' in the son-in-law's village. She was in fact

[3] Areas which have been reopened to settlement by Ngoni and other tribes since 1941 with various restrictions on agricultural methods and on population. About ten per cent of Ngoni live in Resettlement Areas.

5:Allan C-5 (1941) 1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

Other parts of the Eastern Province resettlement areas are also 'fly' country, but apparently free from sleeping sickness and it is only in the northern zone that intensive measures against tsetse have been carried out so far. The large available land area in Mkushi enabled the relatively small 'fly' areas to be avoided. This was fortunate as sleeping sickness is believed to be endemic in the western 'fly' areas of Mkushi.

The resettlement area of Ndola District was believed to contain sparse 'fly' in local pockets. Trials were made by the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments in co-operation by placing herds of cattle throughout the area and grazing them within a definite range about the kraals. Ten herds each of five beasts were used; the animals were numbered and blood slides were taken from each at frequent intervals. As a result of these trials it was found that almost the whole area was free of trypanosomyaisis and suitable for stock raising, and the small areas of 'fly' infestation were defined.

§ 6. *Method of Settlement*

Areas for resettlement were allocated to each tribe and chieftaincy in accordance with the general plan to restore the population-land balance as far as possible. Movement was, in theory at least, entirely voluntary but in many cases a good deal of persuasion was necessary to obtain the necessary number of villages. Most villages naturally preferred that their neighbour should move and that they should take over the vacated land rather than go to the trouble of moving. District Officers and Agricultural Officers held preliminary discussions with the people and the question of the villages to move into the resettlement areas was settled with the co-operation of the Native Authorities. Population counts of these villages were made, usually by District Officers.

Headmen and other representatives of the villagers who had finally elected to move then toured the area allocated to them and selected sites for the new villages. The headmen and the villagers almost invariably arranged this matter among themselves without any difficulty whatsoever. The selected sites were then marked on the Vegetation-Soil Map. Blocks of land having an estimated carrying capacity approximating to the total villages population, allowing for temporary absentees, were demarcated around the selected sites, using roads, streams, hills and cut or blazed lines as boundaries. Estimates of land carrying capacity were, of course, based on the traditional agriculture of the people concerned. This allocation of land areas for individual villages proved universally popular; the people are jealous of their boundaries and, apparently, willing to maintain them. They have usually built permanent stone beacons, to replace temporary timber structures, where the boundaries are not clearly defined by natural features.

This general method of controlled settlement was not individually applied or always possible. The great escarpment area of the Eastern Province,

5: Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

to plant a small number of trees (four per hut is the general rule). Seeds, seedlings and cuttings of mango, mulberry, lemon, guava, pawpaw and banana are distributed free from Departmental and Native Authority nurseries. The trees are planted within or about the sites of the new villages and the people are on the whole willing enough to plant them but show little inclination to care for them once they have been planted. Losses from drought and damage from fowls and small stocks are fairly heavy and in the Western Province two severe winters in succession have frosted off a number of young plantations. It is still uncertain whether this attempt to establish village orchards will be successful.

The only other general restrictions on land use are the prohibition of cultivation within demarcated areas and of late burning of grass and bush. In all village blocks non-cultivation areas have been demarcated for the preservation of streamsides and steep slopes. Areas have also been demarcated as Forest Reserves for future timber supplies and for the protection of watersheds, and in some cases land which is not required for present use has been reserved against the future needs of a growing population. Late burning of grass and bush is prohibited and the responsibility for early burning of the village blocks is placed upon the headman concerned. These prohibitions are enforced by Native Authority Rules.

§ 8. *Housing*

In most of the resettlement areas an attempt has been made to improve the standard of housing and the layout of villages and on the whole this has been fairly successful. When the permanent site has been selected (sometimes a lengthy business involving consultation with the ancestral spirits) the lay-out of the village is planned and the situation of each building marked out by an African Assistant. The people are persuaded to adopt a somewhat higher standard of building, but no compulsion is used and they have generally been willing enough to do so if the standard expected is not too high. The standard of housing and village lay-out is certainly an improvement, if not a very great one, on the standard within the Reserves.

In the Western Province a number of model villages have been built of Kimberley brick. These were built by the villagers themselves, with the assistance of a small team of skilled builders and thatchers employed by the Administration. The object was to stimulate a desire for better housing and it seems to have done so in some degree since most of the other villages have now volunteered to become 'models'.

§ 9. *Assisted Movements*

The movement of a village for a comparatively short distance, a day's journey of fifteen miles or so does not present any particular difficulty and the African has long been used to such movements. If it is impossible

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

VI

A VILLAGE EXODUS

I. The village chief, when he wishes to remove the village to a new site, tells the young men of the village beforehand to look out all the building materials necessary. These they will just pile up. Then some day the head old man gets up very early in the morning to go and seek a suitable spot. When he finds a good place, he says, "Yes, this is where I shall build" (lit. "This is my place"). When he goes to the village that evening, he tells them not to break the rules enforced on such occasions, as he wishes to "kindle fire in the forest," as he is tired of the present site of the village. Next morning at dawn he rises very early, along with his brother and the medicine man, and goes to the site of the new village. They begin to walk all round, tying grass tufts into little knots and smearing them with medicine, and they make fire where they are going to build the *Kuka* hut, and they put some medicine on the fire, and bring water, and blow it in a spray out of their mouth. And the reason they thus medicine-guard the village, is for fear of lions and human flesh-eaters. Then the village people come with the building materials, and they are told to "clear the ground." And they do so, and when this is finished, the chief takes the door-posts and sticks them in position, and also the side-posts, when others put them in (firmly). When the *Kuka* hut is completed they begin with that of the headman. When dark others leave, going back to the old village. There remain only the chief, and the others who will continue to sleep there, not

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

again returning to the old village. That evening they take some of the fire (that they made earlier in the day) to kindle a fire with in the (new) hut (*Kuka*). In kindling it they do not squat down, they blow the faggots into flame from a standing position, and they do this lest the smoke might ever after hang in wreaths over the floor. The womenfolk come every day to cook.

II. When the chief's huts are finished, they build those of the old men, and when these are complete, they bring all the huts [from the old village]. When they see that all the huts are finished, beer is made at the old village, and they go and bring the spirits. He who has a grave pours some beer in a gourd-pot and places it on the grave, saying, "We have gone hence, you must not search for us here, come let us go together." On that day they demolish all the huts that remain, they leave only the huts of which the occupant has lately died. When now the sun begins to slant westward, from the *Kuka* hut they take five gourd-pots, and fill them with beer and make young women carrying these lead the way. The head old woman of the *Kuka* hut goes first, the chief wife of the chief follows *Gogo*, and then come the ones carrying the beer. When they arrive at the new village they set down the gourd-pots and all the people assemble. The elder of the village then begins to propitiate, saying, "There is the beer we down on earth have made, we have gone from yonder, we present to you your new village, all men you will have a care for." Then the village chief makes a present of a goat and hands it to the old man, and he again speaks, saying, "Here is a goat which your child presents, you will wash it down with the beer." If the goat makes water, that is to say the spirit consents, if it will not they do not kill it. Then they kill the goat

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

175 ten units of different orders of segmentation in the old system and are
648 now regarded as ten homologous territorial segments in the new.
631 Thus one village founded for a group of queens by Mpezeni I has given rise to two royal chieftainships, another to one royal chieftainship, and a third to a royal chieftainship and a non-royal one. On the other hand, there is no chieftainship corresponding to the son of Mpezeni I who was next in succession to the main heir.

621 There are royal villages in every county. The oldest royal village
634 in a county is now the capital of the county, and the lieutenants in the
178 capital are responsible to the county chief. The minor chiefs have continued the process of making new villages for their queens, so that in each county the chief lives in a recently formed royal village, founded either by himself or by his father, and not in his capital. The capital is often the biggest village in the county, while the chief's village is more frequently quite small. It is the name of the capital village rather than that of the chief's village that serves as the name of the county itself. Thus, while in the old days the national capital changed with each new Paramount, the county capitals do not alter. The new royal villages founded since 1898 have not the same importance in the political structure as had the pre-conquest royal villages. This change is reflected in the fact that there is now no real national capital in the old sense.

692 Disputes in the old days were settled in the village by the head-
● [622] man, or were taken to the regional governor, or to the lieutenants of the royal village, for settlement. If the matter could not be settled there it was taken to the assembly of the senior lieutenants of Mpezeni, whose decision could be set aside only by Mpezeni himself. Now each chief has a court, and there is an appeal court on which representatives from each of the ten counties sit in turn. In the old
647 days important decisions were taken by the senior lieutenants, in consultation with Mpezeni, although the four large royal villages were to some extent independent of one another. Sections of the army, for
[721] instance, appear to have been sent out on raids from a royal village without reference to the Paramount.[1] Under the present régime
[648] meetings of the tribe as a whole are held at Mcumo, a centre established by the Administration at which there is a school and a dispensary. These are attended by the chiefs and such people as choose to come. These meetings are usually sponsored by the Administration, and meetings to discuss affairs that arise independently of the Administration are

[1] Cf. Cunhe, *A Trip to Mpezeni's*, p. 1.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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The councillors and assessors are nominated by the chiefs on the advice of their lieutenants and some of them are in fact lieutenants or their sons. The court clerk acts as secretary to his chief if he is illiterate, and he assists the chief in his contacts with the Administration. These clerks are also sometimes sons of lieutenants or brothers of chiefs. One of the tasks of the court clerk is to issue licences of all kinds, for guns, beer selling, bicycles, dogs, and so on. This brings him into contact with many people and he does a certain amount of touring looking for unlicensed dogs and bicycles. Owing to this interest in licences and the running of the court, he is the person who takes the initiative in the few public prosecutions that are brought. Civil actions are initiated by paying sixpence for a summons, which is usually issued by the court clerk. He is thus well informed of quarrels in advance before they come up for hearing in the court. He is well known throughout the county and exercises a great deal of influence. 647 [693]

Chiefs and People

Whenever beer was brewed in a village, there was an obligation to carry one pot to the chief, and this obligation persists. Apart from this, however, there does not seem ever to have been any organized system of sending tribute to the chief. Mpezeni is said to have had a monopoly of all prisoners of war, but those who had taken the captives were frequently allowed to keep them themselves. This is mentioned as a specific privilege of regional governors. Nowadays the chiefs expect hospitality when they enter the villages, but they have little call on the services of their people. The little assistance they get locally is probably less valuable than the presents they are given by men who are away working or who have just returned. When the chiefs visit the mining towns they are offered money and clothes by Ngoni working there. 622 431 [273] [727]

The chiefs own a number of guns and lend these to people they can trust. All the chiefs organize their own hunts, which differ from the hunts of ordinary people in that all the animals killed belong to the chief, who should, however, give a leg to the killer of each animal. Attendance is compulsory for adult men in the villages that are called out on the hunt, although in practice there are always many absentees. These royal hunts do not usually involve a whole county, but only part of the county. They are useful in keeping down the number of predatory animals, and damage done to crops by wild pigs and baboons is sometimes attributed to the failure of the chief to organize enough hunts. 622 224 [411] [136]

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Royal and Commoner Villages

621 Nowadays most of the villages in the kingdom are commoner villages, under the charge of headmen. From such evidence as is available, it seems likely that in the pre-conquest period there were fewer villages than there are now, and that they were bigger than are most modern villages.[1] It also appears that the process by which a division of a village broke away to become a separate village was a gradual one, so that at any one time there would have been some doubt in deciding how many distinct villages there were. This is seen at the present time in the histories of what are now distinct villages; the people relate how the first time they made a village of their own it was done only a little distance away from the parent village. Pairs of villages of common origin still tend to occupy sites in comparative proximity to one another, and may arrange their moves from one area to another, in search for new garden land, simultaneously.

In general, however, there is little difficulty in observing the village as a discrete spatial residential group. We may distinguish five types of village,[2] according to the status of the person in charge of the [622] village. The capital villages and chiefs' villages have already been mentioned. Intermediate between these two categories are the regal villages. These have been formed from older royal villages to accommodate a group of wives of a chief or other member of the royal lineage, but do not now have a chief living in them. All these three kinds of royal village, capital, regal, and chief's, are controlled in the same way, by lieutenants appointed to the task in the first instance by a member of the royal family. There is another kind of village which I shall call a cadet village. The junior members of the royal lineage, that is, younger sons and sons by unimportant wives, did not have sufficient following to carry on this process of forming large new villages and merely lived with their wives in their natal villages or founded small villages of their own. Such villages are now similar in form to com- [622] moner villages, except that the headman of the village belongs to the royal lineage. All other villages we may class as commoner villages.

[1] 'The Angoni villages are about five times the size of an average Achewa village . . .' (Gentha, p. 1). Cf. Read, *Tradition and Prestige*, p. 475.

[2] All types are known in the vernacular by the same descriptive term, *musumi*, and there are no classificatory terms. It is possible to tell whether a village is royal or commoner by its name. A village with a male personal name is a commoner or cadet village. A village with a female personal name, or a descriptive name in the Ngoni language, is a royal village.

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TABLE 1. *Village Types*

Type of village		*Senior resident*
Royal	Capital	First lieutenant
	Regal	First lieutenant
	Chief's	Chief
Cadet		Royal Headman
Commoner		Commoner Headman

This process of village formation may be illustrated from Mpezeni's own county. The capital of the county is the village founded by Mpezeni I for his chief wife and one or two other wives. His heir Singu was born in this village, and when he married he founded two villages of his own which are now regal villages. In the senior of these two Mpezeni II was born, and in about 1925 he founded a new village which is still the chief's village of the county. There are other regal villages in the county founded in a similar manner. 621

This formation of royal villages would, other things being equal, lead to a dispersal of the population. It seems, however, that the major factor in dispersing the population since 1898 has been the formation of independent commoner villages. Many of these villages have histories that go back to the foundation of the village as an independent unit immediately after 1898, and it seems likely that the unsettled conditions of those days and the burning of villages did much to bring about the breakdown of the old system in which the royal villages were more important than they are today. 161 621

The royal villages are more closely connected with the chieftainships than are the commoner villages, and the chiefs visit in them more frequently than in other villages. A dispute in a royal village is usually settled by a meeting in the village itself attended by the local chief, whereas in the case of an ordinary village dispute the matter would be taken to the chief for him to settle in his own village or court. A chief may be called to a royal village to drink beer. The royal herds of cattle are kept in the royal villages, and the chiefs look to the first lieutenants of their royal villages for the well-being of the royal cattle as well as of the inhabitants of the royal villages. All the cattle in the country are held to belong in one sense to the Paramount Chief himself,[1] but in as far as the cattle held by most people are concerned, there is no more to this statement than in the parallel expression that 628 [627] 422 231 643

[1] Cf. Coxhead, p. 27.

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422 Mpezeni is the owner of the land, or of the world. The cattle kept in
231 the royal villages are held to have belonged formerly to Mpezeni I or
643 to Zwangendaba, and therefore still belong to the Paramount Chief. Chiefs and other members of the royal lineage who have cattle inherited in this way, in fact dispose of them as they please when the Paramount Chief is not in their village, but if he appears and a beast is killed in his honour, it is the Paramount who is praised as the owner of the beast and not the local owner. In the capital and chief's villages the lieutenants are more under the control of the chief of the county, who may intervene to depose a lieutenant if he thinks that his cattle are not being well looked after.

622 The Administration does not distinguish between one type of vil-
621 lage and another, and gives the same title of headman[1] to the man in
648 charge of the village, whoever he may be. It tends to act on the assumption that all headmen are of equal status and have the same amount of authority in their villages. Combined with the decline in the power of the royal lineage, this policy may lead to the assimilation of the different types of village to a common form.

II. THE VILLAGE

Material Setting

361 Ngoni villages, which form the principal units of administration in the country, contain from half a dozen to 120 huts. It is seldom more than a quarter of a mile from one edge of a village to the other. There is a rough arrangement of huts into parallel lines, with the doors all facing the same way at right-angles to the direction of the
[343] lines. Kitchen huts, which are similar in appearance to dwelling huts, are included in these lines, while in front of a line of dwellings may be a line of storehouses and sties for small stock. On the edge of the
[417] village are the cattle byres. There are seldom any fences marking off courtyards within the village, so that it is possible to sit on the veranda of a hut and look along at all the other verandas. If there are well-established divisions within the village, the boundaries of the divisions may be indicated by lines of aloes.

592 Most people, except polygynists and some children, may be said to live in one hut, in which they keep most of their belongings and where they usually sleep. A single hut may be occupied by up to about ten

[1] Usually *bedimas*, pl. *mabedimas*; otherwise *nfumu yamuzi*, pl. *mafumu wamizi*. The specific term for headman of a cadet or commoner village is *mwisimuzi*.

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children, but it is unusual to find more than two adults living in the same hut. These may be either man and wife, or two women who are unmarried or whose husbands are away. Adolescent boys sleep in dormitories containing a number of boys, and there are similar huts for girls. Smaller children sleep with whoever is responsible for their upbringing, parents, grandparents, or other relative, as the case may be. Children in fact sleep in a variety of huts, sometimes with their elders and sometimes with one group of playmates, sometimes with another. Polygynists divide their time between their several wives, although they may tend to keep their belongings in the hut of their chief wife. Men do not as a rule possess huts of their own apart from those of their wives.

The hut is said to belong to the man or woman living in it. There is a tendency to refer to the man as the owner if the marriage is patrilocal and to the woman if it is matrilocal, but this is not an invariable rule, and the builder of the hut, who may be living elsewhere, may be referred to as the owner. About half the dwelling huts have kitchens near by, separate huts of similar construction which are used for cooking and as sleeping-places for children and visitors. When there is no separate kitchen, cooking is done inside the dwelling hut or on the veranda.

The village, then, is a collection of buildings of different types, in which people sleep and keep their possessions, animals are sheltered, and food stored. We must now consider how the inhabitants of the village are organized.

Structure

Royal villages have names in the Ngoni language that were given by their founders. For example, there is a regal village founded by Singu, the eldest son of Mpezeni I, called Ngalaweni, meaning 'dormitory', as it was there that he put his wives. These villages are also sometimes referred to by the name of the senior queen for whom they were founded.

Most commoner villages, however, do not possess names of this type, and are known only by descent-names or by the names of individuals. These are usually the name and descent-name of the founder of the village, the man who first established the village as a separate unit. It is this individual name that is used to refer to the present headman of the village, the man recognized by the chief and the Administration as responsible for the village. This office is hereditary,

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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621 usually in the male line, and, other things being equal, it is the eldest
622 son of the chief wife who succeeds his father. However, if the heir is a minor, the job of running the village may be undertaken by a brother of the deceased or by the first lieutenant of the village, and in this case difficulties may be placed in the way of the rightful heir should he claim his heritage on maturity. The usurper or his successors may take the name of the founder of the village as though there had been no break in the succession. There is among the Ngoni little of the
551 importance attached to the inheritance of names that is reported from other tribes of the region. Anyone may use the name of any of his patrilineal ancestors, so that, for example, most of the members of the royal lineage, men and women, use the name of Mpezeni on formal occasions in addition to their other personal names.

624 To assist him in his work a headman may nominate a deputy, and there may be in the village one or more lieutenants. The office of lieutenant in a large and prosperous village tends to be hereditary, but if there is no suitable successor the headman may appoint a man from another family to succeed. Many headmen have no deputy and some have no lieutenants.

621 In pre-conquest times the small residential group appears to have
582 consisted of the men of an effective minimal patrilineage,[1] their wives,
178 and the families of their prisoners of war. With the passage of time some of the senior captives became lieutenants of the head of the lineage and there was intermarriage between the aristocratic lineage and the captured families as well as between one captured family and another. This process of intermarriage has continued and I found, in every village I examined in the Northern Rhodesia counties, that each person is related to everyone else in the village, affinally and cognatically, in at least one way, while many people are related to each other by a number of different paths. In the Nyasaland counties this process of affinal assimilation has not been going on for so long, and here I encountered families of former captives who have not yet been linked by marriage to the family of their aristocratic captors.

Movement

361 A village is likely to stay in the same place for a dozen years or so.
166 During this time some of the huts will have fallen down and have been

[1] Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 192: '. . . the effective minimal lineage, that is, the lineage of smallest span which emerges as a corporate unit in economic, jural, and ritual activities and is differentiated from other units of a like sort.'

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
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replaced by new ones, but the village as a whole may be regarded as stationary. The exhaustion of garden land in the vicinity of the village is the principal reason for moving, as with the passage of time a man has to go farther and farther from the village to find new land. Sooner or later it becomes more convenient to move the village to another locality where there is plenty of regenerated land on which gardens can be made. The death of the headman is sometimes followed by a move to a new site, while quarrels within a village may cause a portion of the inhabitants to go off and live on their own, usually after the matter has been referred to the chief. Since 1898 many villages have been moved off land alienated to Whites, or away from congested areas.

When the Administration is the instigator of the move, the new village site is a matter for discussion between District Officer, county chief, and village headman. In moves made on the initiative of the villagers, the various possible new sites are reconnoitred by the headman and other important people in the village and the site chosen is notified to the chief for his approval. The first people start to make their gardens in the vicinity of the site, and work is started on the new village. For this a recently abandoned garden site may be chosen, as it is easier to clear. The first structure to be built is usually a cattle byre. Making a byre is very hard work, and I was told that if it was left till later it would be difficult to get people to tackle the job. Rattray, writing of Gomani's Ngoni of central Nyasaland, relates how the headman's hut is built before the others, but this custom appears to be unknown in Fort Jameson District.[1]

Building is begun by the more industrious before the rains end, and is completed after the harvest. The transition from the old site to the new one is gradual, as, unless the distance between the sites is too great, people will continue working the gardens in the old area until they are exhausted. New gardens are indeed opened up on the old site of the village, and it is quite common to see the ground dug up between the huts at the end of the rains while there are people still living there.

[1] Rattray, *Folk-Lore Stories*, pp. 109–11. Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, pp. 203–5, gives an account of the building of a new village among Mombera's Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, in which the cattle byre was built first, but it must be remembered that this was a village built round a central byre, after the fashion of the South-Eastern Bantu, whereas the cattle byre in a Fort Jameson village is nowadays a smaller affair placed on the outskirts of the village.

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Mpezeni

249 464 near their farms, who go home every afternoon after work and come back the next morning. Others employ women and children, and most [857] [462] boys work intermittently on the farms to earn enough to keep themselves in clothes until they are old enough to go away to Southern Rhodesia. Other boys work in their holidays from school.

466 To some extent people from the same village tend to go to work together in groups on a farm. This is particularly true in the case of the short-term labourers who sleep at home, since the choice of farm is restricted to those in the immediate vicinity of the village. Here sometimes the majority of the inhabitants of a village will turn out under the leadership of the headman of the village and work for three or four days on the same farm. Longer-term labourers may be attracted to a farm by the presence of a foreman from their own village.

584 Girls also go to work on their own, and many marriages are made as a result of encounters on the farms. Marriages made in this way are not always recognized by the parents of the girl until the man has brought her back to her village and formally approached her parents.

444 The villages near the farms, and to a lesser extent those near the township, sell beer to the labourers, while the farms themselves buy up most of the maize and other cereals that villagers have to sell.

464 651 653 [622] The continual demand for labour on the farms leads to their serving as a sanctuary for fugitives from social pressure of one kind or another. For example, a native policeman was going round the villages obtaining labour for the Administration for essential public works. He adopted the normal practice of imposing a quota of labourers to be supplied upon each village and made the headman responsible for seeing that his village quota was met. If the headman did not do this, he enlisted the headman as a labourer. At one village the headman told the policeman that his people had all run away to the gardens when they had heard of the arrival of the policeman in the area. The policeman warned the headman that either he must exercise his authority over his people and order them back into the village so that he could enlist them, or else the headman would be enlisted. He came back the next day to see what had happened, and found that the headman had gone off to work on a farm. There is machinery for recovering such people, but it does not work easily or quickly, and by the time a man has been located and brought back, the reason for which he was wanted may have fallen away.

691 578 Disputes between Africans on farms can be dealt with at the nearest Native Court, but if the farmer wishes to enforce his rights under the

/3 cont'd/
a point some fifteen miles south of Fort Jameson. It seems likely 175
that another eastward move was being contemplated when in 1898
they clashed with troops from Nyasaland, and were defeated. Al- 131
ready the territory under the control of Mpezeni stretched across the
Luangwa-Shire watershed, and with the establishment of British rule
in the same year, that portion of Mpezeni's domain lying across the
watershed became detached from the main portion which lay in
Northern Rhodesia. The Nyasaland section of the empire is now con- 631
trolled by two independent Ngoni chieftainships, both in the Fort
Manning area of Lilongwe District. In this Territory, the present
Paramount Chief is a great-grandson of the first Mpezeni.

/4/ Like all the Ngoni groups, Mpezeni's people are the result 648
of much intermarriage between the southern migrants and the Central
Bantu people with whom they fought. In particular, Mpezeni's
Ngoni intermarried a great deal with the Nsenga of Petauke District,
and it is the Nsenga language that is spoken to-day in Ngoni villages, 197
rather than the old Ngoni language, akin to Zulu, which is used only
in praises and songs. Cicewa is spoken in some villages which at
the time of the arrival of the Europeans had been incorporated only
a short time into the Ngoni state and had not had time to lose their
own Chewa tongue.

The principal difference between the Ngoni and their surround- 642
ing neighbours is in their form of centralised chieftainship, inherited
from father to son. Under the Paramount Chief are nine minor chiefs, 631
positions created by the British South Africa Company's administration,
and held by descendants in the male line of Zwangendaba and his
important officials. Until about 1920 there were divisional head-
men in charge of a number of villages, but these posts have now 602 624
disappeared. In a village there is a headman, an hereditary position
in the male line, and often one or two assistants, also hereditary
offices, descended from captives of the original headman who had
been promoted to responsible office.

In the old days one of the principal ways in which the diverse 701
elements within the Ngoni state were unified was through the regi-
mental system. Regiments were formed every so many years on a

13:Fraser M-5 (ca. 1890)1901
FR5 Ngoni FR5

wait for six or seven years before the procrastinating headmen could lay aside jealousies, and actually place him in the authority of his father. Then when he is crowned he cannot sit in judgment or give a decision unless his councillors have been summoned, and have deliberated with him. Many a time in the old fierce days the councillors and chief argued and defied one another for weeks at a time over the question as to whether the white man was to be tolerated in the country, and it was the strong affection of old Mombera for Dr. Laws, and Wm. Koyi which alone held in the dogs of war, and prevented his councillors from going forth on an exterminating expedition. Yet in spite of the great power of the chief he lives as father of the people with all the villagers as his children. His house is like their own, built right in the centre of the village. The poorest slave has access to him, and he hands his beer pot or his snuff to the meanest villager when he would show him friendliness.

Under the paramount chief there are four great sub-chiefs, and each of them has his councillors and headmen. Then these headmen have each a group of villages under their control. They hear and dispose of petty quarrels between the villagers. Cases in which headmen are involved go to the sub-chief, and cases in which the sub-chiefs are involved, and all great tribal affairs, go to the paramount chief. The tribal council is an impressive sight. Just before I came here I had the privilege of being present in one of these great gatherings of the tribe. It had met to discuss the advisability of coming under the British Protectorate. The great chief, Chimtunga, had sent out his messengers to call to council all the sub-chiefs and headmen. They marched into the chief's kraal on the appointed day, each sub-chief followed by his councillors and hundreds of armed warriors, all walking in single file, and dressed in their gaudiest clothes. They sat round the kraal till thousands were present. By-and-bye the paramount chief walked in, followed by his brothers and council. He was greeted by a roar of salutation, and took his seat. When the case was opened, and the subject introduced, the fathers of the people rose one after the other and saluted the chief, and then addressed the people. The speakers walked up and down, speaking with considerable incisiveness and eloquence, their language full of metaphors and traditional allusions. Then the chief spoke, closing the discussion. Immediately it was ended and the royal salutation given, a warrior leapt into the circle with a war cry, fell

13:Fraser M-5 (ca. 1890)1901
FR5 Ngoni FR5

888 [627] Yet the position of the old women of the village was a highly honoured one. The mother of the headman was almost more powerful than her son. And we always take good care when we enter a new village to win the kindly favour of the old grandmother first of all. Then we are sure we have found a way to the son's heart. One of the most beautiful things in our tribal life is the honour which is paid to the grey hairs of the village. The bent and helpless old men who lived through the glorious fighting [623] days, and understand all precedent and etiquette are the judges and councillors. And no case can be tried, no decision can be made, until the old men give their presence and their opinion. It is hard when the young are leaping ahead of their fathers through education to maintain this veneration for the elders. Yet it is the very backbone of the tribe. There is nothing more contemptible than an African or an Asiastic with a veneer of education who affects to despise the elders of the village. But I know no more pathetic sight than our afternoon schools where grey-haired men and women may be seen peering through faded eyes trying also to learn to read and keep abreast of the young and alert life, while the sun goes down in their eventide.

233 [181] The Ngoni were first of all a fighting people, and then a pastoral. Their land affords splendid pasture for cattle. And they take great pride in their herds. Round the cattle kraal centre all their ambitions, and highest delights, and best intelligence. They sit and watch the cattle going out in the early morning and coming in in the evening, and know every spot and colour of their beautiful animals. The quietest and most peaceful sight I know is when the sun goes down, and the fierce heat has [534] given place to the welcome cool of the evening. Then you will hear the music of reed pipes, and looking up you see a long line [512] of sleek, solemn cows, with large silken dew laps, and fat humps, slowly coming up the village path lowing for their calves, while boys ride on their backs sitting or standing upright, balancing themselves carefully and blowing on their pipes. Before and behind them runs a troop of goats and sheep bleating with such a human cry. In a moment the village is alive—sheep and goats are chased back and forward till they find the huts where they sleep with their masters. And boys run out with wooden pails [234] into which they milk what the calves have not sucked from their mothers.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4
Ngoni FR5

M 587 765 [833] marry, his new wife would die. A widow after her period of mourning of two or three months, if sought in marriage, sends her suitor to her sister, who arranges for some other man to have coitus with the widow, after which she is ready to marry the suitor. Without this her second husband would die should she have committed adultery.

M 767 622 After the funeral of a chief the headmen of the district call the chief *Mdzukulu*, who buried the late chief, and hand him a red blanket and tell him to cover the man who is going to be chief. This he does, at the same time hitting him hard on the head. This action is received with shouting from the women, who put ashes on their heads. He then sits surrounded by his brothers and sisters at one end of the open space, the headmen at the other, the leader of whom gives a sermon.

M 766 At Chipoli on the south-west arm of the Lake the corpse is wrapped in a mat and weighted, and then sunk in the lake. The same practice is followed occasionally at Monkey Bay; it is done with the idea of avoiding interference by *Mphiti*.

Lepers and persons dying of small-pox are not bewailed; the former are thrown in the bush for *Mphiti* to eat, as it is thought the disease is spread if they be buried. A man accused of *Mphiti* and dying of *mwavi* used to be burnt on a pile of wood.

N ●622 766 [*Note on Angoni.*—In the case of a chief the body was kept ten days to be sure of death; it was arranged in a sitting posture covered with cloth, the eyes open, a stream was dammed up with stones and then a pyre made below the dam and the body burnt, the waters were then let free to wash away the ashes. The new chief stood from morning to afternoon on one foot wrapped in the smoke of the pyre.]

M 195 769 In speaking of the dead the expression, "the late so and so" (= *nisimuzi . . .*), is used. A man will not refer to children that have died in the presence of his wife, as she will cry either from grief or because it is the custom so to do. Some burial grounds are not approached.

ARTIFICIAL DEFORMATIONS.

M 304 [856] At birth pressure is applied to the head of the child to reduce any deformity which may be present—no deformation is attempted. Various practices of piercing nose, lips, and ears have been and are in vogue.

M [178] Piercing of the upper lip and subsequent wearing of a thin stick, sometimes a bone (*ntona*), until the aperture was large enough to admit a much bigger ivory or wooden lip-ring, solid or otherwise (*pelele*), was practised among the Nyanja women, but it is going out and is now seen only in the old women. Occasionally the lower lip was pierced in the same way. At the present time among the Y [304] Machinga, Yao, and many Nyasa women, the left *ala nasi* is pierced in the same way when a girl is eight years old. When adult a metal or ivory solid ring is worn (*chipini*). A woman piercing the right *ala nasi* would be laughed at and called a fool.